

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI

DATE: November 21, 1955

ATTENTION: TRAINING & INSPECTION DIVISION
FROM : SAC, MILWAUKEESUBJECT: "THE PROBLEM OF THE FIFTH
AMENDMENT IN MODERN TIMES"FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

INDEXED 23

On Monday, November 14, 1955, at 7:15 P.M. the Marquette University Law School of Milwaukee, Wisconsin sponsored three addresses on "The Problem of the Fifth Amendment in Modern Times", which was held at the Brooks Memorial Union of Marquette University, Milwaukee.

The following is a resume of the addresses.

[REDACTED] Professor of Moral Theology at West Baden College, West Baden Springs, Indiana, spoke on the moral problems involved in the Fifth Amendment. He traced the thinking of moral theologians on the subject of right to silence from the 15th century until the present time.

The right of a person to maintain silence had been under vicious attack in the present day world of Communism. Just as the material things of this world belong to the Communist states, so does a person's mind and thoughts. The Communists have used drugs and various tortures to gain control of a person's mind and to extract from such persons confessions of crimes never committed. Moralists have not considered such confessions as seriously wrong since the tortures under which they were obtained were unnatural and therefore not obligatory upon the person making the confession.

A criminal does not have the obligation of spontaneously revealing the commission of a crime to the authorities. This would be expecting too much of human nature. Nor is he obligated to reveal the commission of a crime when specifically questioned by the authorities. He has no obligation to convict himself. However, persons who have information concerning the crimes of others do not enjoy the same privilege as the one accused. There are two situations to be considered. One is the reporting of a crime and the other is acting as a witness with regard to a crime.

As far as reporting a crime is concerned, the potential accuser has no obligation to report such crime if it has been committed against the potential accuser and does not affect others. The potential accuser has no obligation to report a crime when

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY SP2 STJ/af

279638 279639

RES:jab

(3)

21 DEC 6 1955

100-391697

RECORDED - 23

INDEXED - 23

100-391697-304

NOV 25 1955

b6
b7C

Wis.

EXP. PROC.

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR, FBI
November 21, 1955

such crime only affects the delinquent.

Now, where the crime of the delinquent causes damage to an innocent third person, any person having knowledge of such crime is obligated to report it to the authorities, unless to do so would be extremely difficult. Where the crime involves damage to the community, any person having knowledge of the crime is obliged to report it, even though to do so would be extremely difficult for the person reporting the crime. This is necessary because the common good of all supersedes the good of the individual.

There are a number of exceptions where a person would not be obliged to report the commission of a crime, even though it may be against the community. These are as follows: (1) where a fiduciary relationship exists between the criminal and the person having knowledge of the crime, such as priest and penitent or lawyer and client; (2) where a close family relationship exists; (3) where the delinquent has corrected his errors and there is no danger that he will relapse into his criminal ways; and (4) where the reporting of the criminal acts of an accomplice would affect the person reporting such acts.

Moralists have been reluctant to impose an obligation upon the reporting of crimes. This attitude stems from the right of every person to the enjoyment of a good reputation and the corresponding duty that a person has not to injure another's good name. It is in the interest of the common good not to have informers.

A person who acts as a witness is a part of the judicial function and he is not in the position of an informer. Formal accusation has already been taken against the criminal. The duty to testify truthfully is more absolute than the duty to denounce. As far as a Senate Committee Hearing is concerned, a person may find himself in the position of accuser or witness. Such person has no obligation to testify if the information which he furnishes can later be used against him in a criminal trial, nor has he any obligation if the person against whom he is about to furnish information has corrected his delinquent ways. However, it is immoral to refuse to furnish information if such refusal would block the authorities from routing out evil or crime. The right to prove must at times yield to the right to silence. It is noted that in the foregoing discussion we were concerned with obligations and not with the fact that a citizen should cooperate with the authorities.

ERWIN N. GRISWOLD, Dean and Langdell Professor of Law, Harvard University Law School, Cambridge, Massachusetts, stated that the greatest harm to

WIS

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR, FBI
November 21, 1955

the United States was possible in the field of the Fifth Amendment, since it involved the setting of man against man and created suspicion among good, honest Americans.

He pointed out, however, that he did not like Communists or Communism which he regarded as the greatest single threat to America and civil liberties. Communism would destroy the civil liberties of the United States. GRISWOLD said that he did not even like people who were formerly Communists since he had a definite reservation about the good judgment of such people.

He said that some people take the position that Communism is our enemy and that the struggle will go on between us until one or the other wins. GRISWOLD did not take such a dim view and pointed out that if the Russians had not rattled their sabers so loudly, they could have taken over America in ten years. Instead their actions served to keep America alert. GRISWOLD felt that there were excellent government agencies designed to take care of us and in which he had a great deal of confidence.

Certain persons have claimed that the use of the privilege of the Fifth Amendment is wrong because the public has a right to information. There is no such right as far as the public is concerned and GRISWOLD pointed to the relationship of husband and wife, attorney and client, and priest and penitent to illustrate his statement. Under certain circumstances the public may have a right to information.

According to GRISWOLD, rights have a tendency to become absolute. Therefore, two compelling claims must be balanced and adjusted against each other. In the Fifth Amendment we have the question of security on the one hand and civil liberties on the other. Either of these rights becoming absolute could ruin the other.

He then referred to the Royal Commission Hearings on the ^{Petrov} Petrov Affair in Australia during 1945. He pointed out that the Commission allowed a person under investigation to cross-examine witnesses and to even make application to the Commission to call other witnesses to be used in rebuttal. An Australian lawyer friend of GRISWOLD's wrote to him and said that he may regard this method of handling Communists as rather "with kid gloves."

GRISWOLD pointed out that the way the Senate Investigating Committees in this country have handled certain hearings have caused the witnesses to claim the privilege of the Fifth Amendment, although in some cases

LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR, FBI
November 21, 1955

it may have been wrongly claimed. People should try to understand why a person may claim the Fifth Amendment and not jump to the conclusion that the person is either a criminal or a liar. A person may become frightened by the floodlights, television cameras and the hostility in the Senate Hearing Room, thus causing him to refuse to testify. Or a person may be just plain stubborn and even though it would be better for him and everyone concerned for him to furnish information, he refuses to do so.

GRISWOLD condemned the decision in the [] case which held that in a Senate investigation if a person furnishes some information on a particular subject, he has waived the privilege and must furnish all he knows. This rule is all right in a court case but should not be the rule in a Senate Hearing. It seemed to GRISWOLD that a person should not be worse off because he was partly cooperative. This rule has compelled witnesses to immediately claim the privilege and furnish no information at all for fear of waiving the privilege.

Some people claim that an adverse inference can always be drawn from a refusal to testify. An inference does not mean much unless it can go to the extent of being a conclusion and if it goes this far, it is wrong. GRISWOLD did not believe that the keeping of silence was an absolutely colorless act, but he felt that no conclusion could be drawn from such act.

b6
b7C

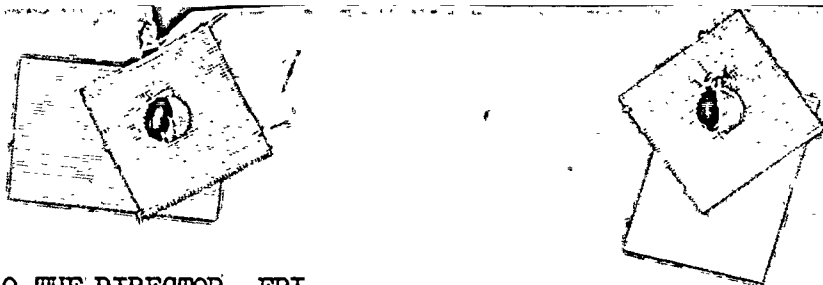
In the court trial of a criminal case a judge will enter a directed verdict in favor of the defendant if there is insufficient evidence to sustain a conviction whether the defendant takes the stand or not. Actually, in a committee hearing there is no evidence produced against a witness and the investigators are merely questioning to determine such evidence.

In the [] case in Florida the State tried to disbar [] from the practice of law merely because he had refused to answer questions regarding his Communist Party membership and had claimed the Fifth Amendment. The State had produced no evidence of such membership. The Supreme Court held that the State could not disbar without evidence of Communist Party membership and merely on the claim of privilege.

GRISWOLD concluded by stating that the watering down of the Fifth Amendment can lead to a watering down of our free enterprise system and our way of life.

~~C. DICKERMAN WILLIAMS~~, member of the firm of Maclay, Morgan and Williams, New York City, stated that within the rationale of privilege

WIS



LETTER TO THE DIRECTOR, FBI
November 21, 1955

there was nothing wrong with asking a person about himself. However, the privilege of the Fifth Amendment arose to counteract torture which may be practiced by police to extract the confession of an accused.

He stated that the Fifth Amendment was concerned with the principles of evidence and that [] one of the foremost authorities on this subject, has stated that a person has the duty of giving all the evidence that he is capable of giving. This duty is essential to the orderly functioning of society and is a duty not to be easily evaded.

b6
b7C

In two instances involving the claiming of privilege by police officers in Detroit and Chicago, which police officers had been called to testify at an investigation into crime conditions, they were discharged for conduct unbecoming of an officer. In another instance an officer of a municipal corporation was discharged when he pleaded that the identification of certain corporation records would incriminate him. It would appear that public employment would terminate the right to use the claim of privilege, at least if one wants to retain his position.

WILLIAMS said that there is an inference of guilty when a person remains silent since it is not natural for a person to remain mute in the face of accusations against him. He then cited a large number of cases where the court said that the claim of privilege would support the conclusion of guilty. WILLIAMS further said that a witness before a Grand Jury could not refuse to testify merely because he felt that such testimony would inconvenience his friends.

In answer to the statement made by GRISWOLD that many persons did not testify before Senate Committees out of fear, WILLIAMS pointed out that witnesses were protected by their lawyers, the chairman of the Committee, and certain representatives of the press who would be very happy to criticize a Senator for trying to intimidate a witness. WILLIAMS said that in his own experience when a witness "fell apart" it was because he was lying and a witness who told the truth had nothing to fear. He felt that witnesses usually were more discourteous to Senators than Senators were to witnesses.

A TRANSCRIPT

DR. ROBERT HUTCHINS

* "MEET THE PRESS"

November 20, 1955

Jeffrey

ANNOUNCER:.....*ell*.....

Dr. Robert Hutchins, the President of the Fund for the Republic - The Fund was authorized by the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in 1951, to promote a better understanding of Civil Liberties. It was financed by a grant of \$15,000,000 from the Foundation (Ford). However, its policies and objectives are completely independent of the Foundation.

Some of the most violent debates over the Fund's activities have originated on the issue of Communism in the United States; on the studies of the loyalty security system; and on the work of the Fund in race relations; and on the discussion forums which the Fund has financed in the various fields of civil liberties.

These activities have brought some critical reactions from certain members of Congress, and from a former National Commander of The American Legion.

Mr. Hutchins took over the Presidency of the Fund about a year and a half ago. He is the former President of the University of Chicago; his reorganization program there attracted wide attention among the nation's educators.

And now seated around the table ready to interview Mr. Hutchins are James McConohay, Time Magazine; May Craig, Portland, Maine Press Herald; Fred Woltman, N. Y. Telegraph and Sun, and Lawrence Spivak, our regular member of the "Meet the Press" panel.

Now, Mr. Hutchins, if you're ready, we'll start the questions with Mr. Spivak.

SPIVAK: Mr. Hutchins, Seaborn Collins, the former National Commander of The American Legion has said this about you and the Fund: "That you and your associates are trying to propagandize Americans into believing Communism has never been, and is not now, a serious danger to this country." Now do you believe that Communism has been, and is now a serious danger to this country?

INDEXED - 97 100-391697-305

* Recording and partial transcription done immediately after broadcast on November 20, 1955.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8DJS/afg

EX-130

file 100-391697

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

323
MAY 6 1971

HUTCHINS:

SPIVAK:

HUTCHINS:

SPIVAK:

HUTCHINS:

SPIVAK:

HUTCHINS:

Yes, I do.

Since Communism is out to destroy our freedom and our civil liberties, and the Fund's interest is to protect those civil liberties, can you tell us what the Fund has done to fight Communism itself?

The Fund has I said in the first place.....

Not what its said; what's it done?

I am coming to that. The Fund has said in the first that Communism is the most serious menace to Civil Liberties in the U. S. After all, the Fund is dedicated to justice and freedom and Communism has no place for either one. As to what the Fund has done about Communism, is to commission Professor Rossiter of Cornell to make what we hope will be a definite study of what Communism has amounted to in the U. S. and what it amounts to now.

Along that line, Mr. Collins also said that you and your associates are trying to propagandize Americans into believing that sinister forces

under the pretext of fighting Communism, are the real danger to the Civil Liberties of Americans.

Do you believe that?

I don't believe either statement that Mr. Collins made. Mr. Collins has misconceived the Fund and I can only say that those close to Mr. Collins are misinformed about it. The Fund is not a propaganda agency of any kind. It's an educational establishment. It's for the purpose of educating the American people about Civil Liberties; about the particular principles of the Declaration of Independence; the Constitution and the Bill of Rights. Its object is to make the Bill of Rights a living document today. Therefore, when it's suggested that we are being soft towards Communism, as the saying goes, and undermining the

MISS CRAIG:

security of the Government, it is absurd.

Well, the present Commander said just last Thursday that your Fund is giving comfort to the enemies-- That's the present Commander. You're a member of the Legion, are you not?

HUTCHINS:

Yes, I am.

MISS CRAIG:

And received an award from them?

HUTCHINS:

I did from Chicago Post 170.

MISS CRAIG:

And from the ANVETS?

HUTCHINS:

No, I did from the Washington Chapter of the AVC.

MISS CRAIG:

Yes. Will you explain to me why it is The American Legion is so violently opposed to what you're doing in your organization?

HUTCHINS:

I can only conclude that the "Kingmakers" of The American Legion do not understand the Fund.

MISS CRAIG:

Well--

HUTCHINS:

I also believe that there is a split in The American Legion between the rank and file, and those who control the Headquarters in Indianapolis. I believe that rather than fight the opposition within the Legion, those who control the Headquarters in Indianapolis are attacking the Fund, because the Fund supported the Americanism program of the Illinois Department of The American Legion, under the Commandership of Irving Breakstone.

MISS CRAIG:

Well, Mr. Hutchins, the new Commander also criticizes you for hiring a man who, only three weeks before you hired him, had refused to tell a Senate Committee whether he had been a Communist and had taken the Fifth Amendment. So why do you hire people like that?

HUTCHINS:

(Giggles) We hired the individual referred to because we needed him, and again, I conclude just because he availed himself of his Constitutional

rights, he's not unqualified for the post. After all, the Fifth Amendment is part of the Bill of Rights.

MAY CRAIG:

I believe you said you would hire qualified people, but you would watch them, and see they do the job right. Did you say that?

HUTCHINS:

I said something of the sort, yes.

MAY CRAIG:

You forget that we weren't very good at watching Alger Hiss, Harry Dexter White, and the British had Burgess and McLean. Can't you get any qualified people who aren't Fifth Amendment?

HUTCHINS:

Oh we have a great many. The item to which you refer, or to which the Commander referred, has been blown up out of all proportion to its significance. The individual referred to was hired on a temporary basis; to work part-time during the rush season.

MR. WOLTMAN:

Dr. Hutchins is it a matter of fact that you said, a few weeks ago, in New York, that you would not hesitate to hire a present member of the Communist Party to work for you, did you not?

HUTCHINS:

The Fund for the Republic is committed to the proposition that

MR. WOLTMAN:

Will you answer the question?

HUTCHINS:

I'm going to. The Fund for the Republic is committed to the proposition that Communism is a menace. The Fund for the Republic is also committed to individual liberty and individual rights. The Fund has condemned boycotting, black-listing; and has insisted on due process and the equal protection of the law; and has condemned guilt by association. The principle is, that the individual stands on his own merits.....

MR. WOLTMAN:

Now, would you mind answering the question.

HUTCHINS:

That principle was enunciated very often by the

late Senator Robert Taft. Therefore, what I was simply trying to do, in answer to the question to which you refer; is to dramatize the proposition that the individual must be judged on his individual merits.

WOLTMAN:

Would you also hire a Nazi, or a Fascist, or a Ku Klux Klanner?

HUTCHINS:

(Giggles) This question is a real flying saucer. So was the other one.

WOLTMAN:

Well, you didn't answer it.

HUTCHINS:

I beg your pardon, I did.

WOLTMAN:

You would also hire a Nazi?

HUTCHINS:

No, I didn't say that. I would not. I said that the great.....

WOLTMAN:

I thought you said that you would hire a Communist?

HUTCHINS:

I said that the great question always is, what is the individual in himself. This is the American principle.

WOLTMAN:

Will you.....

HUTCHINS:

(Interrupting) Therefore the question cannot be answered. The question is, what is this individual?

What is this job that you wish him to undertake?

WOLTMAN:

Do you believe with our Supreme Court that the Communist Party is a conspiracy to overthrow our democratic form of government?

HUTCHINS:

I certainly do!

WOLTMAN:

Well, if a person arrived in your office and was a member of the Communist Party, a known member of the Communist Party, would you disregard that?

HUTCHINS

Not at all. Not at all. It's an absolutely relevant fact - The question remains you are perfectly familiar.....

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *my*

DATE: December 1, 1955

FROM : Mr. Jones *2*SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC BROADCAST OF
FULTON LEWIS, JR.
7 P.M., NOVEMBER 30, 1955.

J.P.
abw

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Yogging

NO LOC

On his broadcast last night, Mr. Lewis mentioned that Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Fund for the Republic, testified before a congressional committee yesterday afternoon favoring a repeal of the Walter-McGarran Immigration Act. Lewis made quite a point of the fact that Hoffman identified himself before the congressional committee as the Board Chairman of Packard-Studebaker Motor Company and former head of ECA*. Lewis mentioned that the Fund for the Republic is actively interested in the immigration question and has several projects with huge grants underway in that connection. He stated that the policies of the Fund for the Republic are along the exact lines as those stated by Hoffman before the committee; however, according to Lewis, the Packard-Studebaker Motor Company and the extinct ECA* have no such policies at all. Mr. Lewis alleges that Hoffman knew that he could not appear before the committee in behalf of the Fund for the Republic because if he did, he would violate the tax law provisions which forbid tax-exempt foundations from activities affecting legislation.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

jm

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BJS/980

* ECA - Economic Cooperation Administration

GEM:bs

(7)

RECORDED
INDEXED 937100-391677-306
DEC 1 1955

EX-126

68 DEC 8 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman *LB* 12/5/55

DATE: December 1, 1955

FROM : A. H. Belmont *ahb*SUBJECT: *Q* FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC *Q-1*

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The 11/27/55 issue of "The Sunday Star," Washington, D. C., reported that Robert M. Hutchins, head of the Fund, and his policies were given a "vote of confidence" by the Ford Foundation earlier that week. The article added that there was to be a reshuffle of directors of the Fund and that Morris L. Ernst and Osmond Frankel, New York attorneys, reportedly are joining the Fund's Board. The article stated that Ernst is "militantly anti-Communist"; Frankel believes that "Communists have civil rights under our constitution"; and that both are noted for their defense of civil liberties.

Ernst, a prominent New York attorney, was the subject of a Departmental applicant investigation conducted by Bureau in 1935, which revealed nothing derogatory. Prior to 1941 he had been affiliated with several organizations cited by the House Committee on Un-American Activities (HCUA), such as the American Labor Party (ALP) and the National Lawyers Guild (NLG). Ernst is a counsel for the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). In many instances he has actively supported the FBI, particularly in connection with the loyalty program. From time to time he has made proposals for combating Communism. His relations with the Bureau have been very cordial. (94-4-5*366-87)

Osmond Frankel appears to be identical with Osmond Kessler Fraenkel, a New York attorney, prominent in civil liberty matters. He was the subject of Bureau security investigations conducted intermittently between 1941-1953 revealing the following: Louis Budenz, admitted former Communist, advised 5/18/49 that Fraenkel was known to him as a Communist. Fraenkel registered with ALP in 1948; has been extremely active in NLG since 1937, currently being vice-president of New York City Chapter. On 11/16/52 an informant, who has furnished reliable information in the past, advised Fraenkel was not a member of the Communist Party (CP), but was friendly with CP members in New York City. Information received from various public sources and reliable informants indicates that Fraenkel has handled the legal interests of Communist organizations and members of the CP, with whom he has been closely associated. He is an active attorney in the ACLU, New York City. (100-12764)

RECORDED - 72

100-391697-307

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 2583 BUL/gf

INDEXED - 72

DEC 7 1955

71 DEC 9 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-410977-1

Memorandum for Mr. Boardman

ACTION:

None. For your information.

✓

✓

Wm. J. C.

RCY:bjm
(6)

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Boardman
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Section Tickler
- 1 - Mr. Young

3
8

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. L. V. Boardman

DATE: December 2, 1955

FROM : A. H. Belmont

SUBJECT: STUDY OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY PROGRAM
BY STANFORD LAW REVIEW, STANFORD CALIFORNIA;
FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

Tolson _____
 Boardman _____
 Nichols _____
 Belmont _____
 Harbo _____
 Mohr _____
 Parsons _____
 Rosen _____
 Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
 Winterrowd _____
 Tele. Room _____
 Holloman _____
 Gandy _____

The San Francisco Division has furnished the Bureau with a Photostat of a preliminary draft of an article to appear in the Stanford Law Review, a publication of Stanford Law School, which article is concerned with employer practices implementing the Federal Industrial Personnel Security Program. The article was obtained from Thomas J. O'Neill, Security Officer, Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, California. O'Neill stated the article was the result of study made by representatives of Stanford Law School and was financed by the Fund for the Republic.

A review of this article reflects that it is a lengthy discussion of governmental regulations in the Industrial Personnel Security Program and the operation of that program. It reaches a conclusion that the Government Industrial Security Program presents an effort to strike a fair balance between the demands of security and individual rights. It states, however, that the program has also put private employers in a position where they frequently must make decisions affecting security and individual rights at a stage where the decisions are free of governmental supervision and out of range of the safeguards the Government has attempted to establish. The article explains that the contractor, without any Government supervision, is allowed to grant confidential security clearances to his employees; thus making way to undesirable practices which may, or may not, satisfy the needs of security. It advocates that the Government assume responsibility for confidential clearances as it does in granting Secret and Top Secret clearances. The article makes no derogatory comment concerning the FBI.

ACTION:

None. For your information.

RECORDED 13

INDEXED - 13

PCY:bjm

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
 - 1 - Mr. Boardman
 - 1 - Mr. Belmont
 - 1 - Section Tickler
 - 1 - Mr. Young
- 100-391697

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATED 3-29 BY SP8BJJ/pjs

66 DEC 12 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

62-93739-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

r. Minster
ickler

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

November 30, 1955

100-391647-309
RECORDED-66

INDEXED-66

[Redacted]

DATE: [Redacted]

b6
b7c

Dear [Redacted]

Your letter dated November 21, 1955, and the enclosures have been received, and I appreciate your courtesy in bringing this matter to my attention.

While I would like to be of assistance in connection with your inquiry, I must advise that in accordance with a Departmental regulation data contained in the files of this Bureau is maintained as confidential and available for official use only. I am sure you will understand the necessity for this regulation and no inference will be drawn because of my inability to be of assistance that we do or do not have in our files the information you have requested.

In accordance with your request, I am returning herewith the enclosures to your communication.

In the event you receive additional information which you believe to be of interest to this Bureau, you may desire to communicate directly with the Special Agent in Charge of our Philadelphia Office located at 500 Widener Building, Philadelphia 7, Pennsylvania.

Sincerely yours,

Classified by 253577/08
Declassify on: OADR 8-3-89

John Edgar Hoover
Director

Enclosures (2) 279638
279639

2cc - Philadelphia (with 2 enclosures)

(See page 2 for note)

COMM - FBI
DEC 1 1955
MAILED 20

YOUNG (cc: FUND)
58 DEC 12 1955

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

100-391647

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN 100-421784-2

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosures consisted of (1) leaflet entitled "No Man is an Island" issued by Human Relations Council of Bucks County, William Penn Center, Fallsington, Pennsylvania, soliciting membership; and (2) unidentified newspaper column "Valley Vignettes" entitled "Newtown Lawyer Will Defend Nonconformists in Campaign to Keep Human Rights Alive." This article relates to activities of [redacted] who recently began a two-year "Rights of Conscience" project and indicates certain areas of his work are supported by a grant from the Fund for the Republic.

Correspondent, in lengthy letter, inquires about two organizations; namely, the Human Relations Council of Bucks County and the American Friends Service Committee (AFSC). A good friend, [redacted] recently became affiliated with "Rights of Conscience" division of AFSC with funds supplied by Ford Foundation. Correspondent describes enclosed newspaper article as appearing on editorial page of local paper "Delaware Valley Advance," 11-17-55. He describes [redacted] as a sincere and honest practicing Quaker but states Quakers are perfect dupes for the Communist line. He requests information re status of organizations mentioned and Quakers in order to dissuade [redacted] from foolish venture and effect his abandonment from this enterprise. Correspondent is convinced [redacted] has no Communist background or association, per se, but may be aiding unwittingly the Communist cause since it frequently parallels with principles of the Quaker religion.

b6
b7C

No identifiable data in Bufiles re correspondent.

Reference is made to Philadelphia letter to Bureau 6-10-55 captioned "Soviet Travel Control, IS-E," (Philadelphia file 100-28060), pertaining to tour of Bucks County, Pennsylvania, area in April, 1955, by Soviet officials employed at U. N. Secretariat. One of the hosts for the group listed therein was [redacted] of the vicinity of Newtown, Pennsylvania, possibly identical with individual mentioned by correspondent. Also referred to in this communication is the Human Relations Council of Bucks County. According to [redacted] one [redacted] identified as former member of Bucks County Club of Communist Party, stated on 4-9-54 the Human Relations Council of Bucks County had been "taken over by the Progressives." (65-61940-248) (u)

b6
b7C
b7D

Bufiles reflect AFSC has recently been subject of Bureau investigation under caption "Communist Infiltration of American Friends Service Committee, IS-C," which was closed by report submitted by Philadelphia Office 11-18-55 (Philadelphia file 100-4899). (100-11392)

SAC, PHILADELPHIA:

For your assistance there is attached one Photostat each of the enclosures referred to above.

You are requested to check your office files for additional identifiable data concerning [redacted]

b6
b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

following which you should be guided by current Bureau instructions governing security cases.

In connection with the Human Relations Council of Bucks County, you are requested to forward to the Bureau all relevant information concerning this organization which appears in your office files, together with your recommendations as to whether investigation is warranted in accordance with the provisions of Section 87-D of the Manual of Instructions. This communication should be forwarded under the caption of the organization in question.

NOTE ON YELLOW:

AFSC, according to reliable informants, has been sincere pacifist group since its inception in 1917. No information developed by investigation to indicate Communist infiltration of this organization.

Photostats of correspondent's enclosures also prepared and retained for completion of Bufiles.

WWK:fmb

(6)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Branch of the group.

The disturbing fact has just been brought to my ken that a very good and old friend ~~friend~~, in fact probably one of my three oldest, had been recently made head of the "Rights of Conscience" division of the American Friends Service Committee. (Hereafter A.F.S.C.)

I am reasonably sure, although I know that it will be difficult to do that if I have good evidence from one such as you all that

MR. JONES
NOV 27 1966
DEC 2 3 14 PM '66
FBI - NEW YORK

b6
b7C

he is too deeply involved.

(2)

I have known [redacted] since
7th grade and we have remained
good, very good friends all
these years and if possible
to do ^{so} anxious to show him
that he is engaged in aiding
the subversive movement in these
nations.

[redacted] is a practicing
Quaker and has been so since
his college days at Haverford.
That is all very well and
it is my belief from my
personal knowledge that he
is sincere and honest in his
religious worship.

He is a reasonably good lawyer
with the main bulk of his
practice being compensation work.

About a month ago he had
my family over to his home for
dinner and dropped the hint
that he was going to do some
work of this character because
"it was a new field with
interesting ^{legal} possibilities."

He mentioned that the Ford
Foundation was supplying
the funds and that he would
be taking a trip to California
in conjunction with this
enterprise. We got into a small
discussion about the type of
work this project would entail.

(3)

and I was not enthusiastic
and was in fact perturbed for
a few days. The discussion
then dropped from my immediate
consciousness and I basically
forgot it until I read the ^(enclosed)
article by [redacted] for
the editorial page of the Delaware
Valley Advance of 11/14/55. This
is our local newspaper.

Now I must explain why
I was suddenly startled.

I have been alert to Communist
infiltration by having read
[redacted] book "While You
Sleep" and others similar

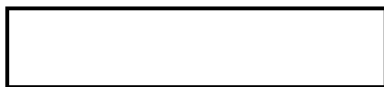
Literature describing Communist
activities. Now the Quakers
~~with~~ their blind Pacifism
and non-resistance theories
have always seemed to me
to be perfect dupes for the
"Commie" line ~~whether or not~~
~~they~~ are of "Commie" leanings.
I ~~am~~ ^{am} ~~questioning~~ if you would,
I would also like answered -
What is the official ^{in question} ~~standing~~
of the Quakers in regard to
the Communists? Are they willing
followers? Are they dupes?
Are they idealistic fools?
Do they realize that they are
the perfect foils for Communism?

(4)

The quick answers to these ^{and} questions and others that may be raised are very important because if you are able to give me enough information to dissuade my friends from this foolish venture at this time it would be a solid counter-blow in this area to the "free thinkers" and "progressives" in the struggle at grass-roots level for man's beliefs. The leaders are very strong, active, aggressive and influential here and having this more defeat right after this publicity would hurt their prestige locally.

So I have enclosed this
literature and request an
answer to your Bureau's
official status of "The Human
Relations Council of Rock County."
If [redacted] is
a Communist or a member of
a Communist Organization
then I am certain that
possessing such evidence
I can persuade [redacted] to
abandon this ~~enterprise~~ ^{enterprise} and
face the ~~reality~~ ^{reality} fact that he
has ^{been} defeated.

It is my firm conviction
that [redacted] is an American
first and that he has no



b6
b7C

(6)

Communist background or
association, per se, but ~~that~~
Jewish religion is so close to
the Communist ideal ^{or certain phases} that
an innocent person while
advancing the one line may
unconsciously advance the
other by successful and
adroit propaganda spread by
the Party being unwittingly aided.
(i.e. the Communists.)

Since this is obvious now
what it is my purpose to
succeed in doing will you
kindly send me the requested
information at your earliest

Convenience so that I may
speak to [redacted] and have an
authoritative background for
my arguments before he makes
any further advance into the
matter.

b6
b7C

Respectfully yours,
[redacted]

P.S. Kindly return my enclosed
literature with your eagerly
awaited answer.
[redacted]

WILL YOU JOIN US?

General Members	\$1.00 to \$4.00
Contributing Members	\$5.00
Supporting Members	\$10.00
Sustaining Members	\$25.00
Life Members	\$100.00

Send your membership or request for more information to:

HELEN UNDERHILL, Executive Secretary
The Human Relations Council
of Bucks County
 WILLIAM PENN CENTER
 FALLSINGTON, PENNA.
 (Morrisville 2563)

OFFICERS

- RICHARD McFEELY, President**
- PEACE PAUBIONSKY, Executive Vice Pres.**
- GEORGE OTTO, 2nd Vice President**
- LILLY RAHILL, Secretary**
- MADELINE McGRUDER, Treasurer**

BOARD OF DIRECTORS

- | | |
|----------------------------|--------------------------|
| Mr. Paul B. Blanshard, Jr. | Mr. Nathan Mathin |
| Mr. Joseph Bolden | Mr. Richard H. McFeely |
| Mr. Irving Brager | Mrs. E. G. McGruder |
| Mr. Pearl Buck Walsh | Rabbi Aron Moskovits |
| Miss Angeline Derry | Dr. Walter H. Mohr |
| Mr. Benjamin Dickstein | Mr. Randall Y. Nelson |
| Mr. Wayne Dockhorn | Mr. Oscar E. Norbeck |
| Mr. Louis Dries | Mr. George E. Otto |
| Mr. Ralph B. Dwinnell | Mrs. George E. Otto |
| Mr. Harrison M. Fisher | Mr. Peace Paubionsky |
| Mr. John F. Follinsbee | Rev. Clifford G. Pollock |
| Ms. Hannah L. Gratz | Mrs. Norman E. Polster |
| Mr. George S. Havens | Mrs. William A. Rahill |
| Mr. George S. Jackson | Mrs. Martin Rhodes |
| Mr. Walter R. Livingston | Mr. Carter Rose |
| Mr. Wayne W. Locke | Mrs. Elsa Sacco |
| Miss Marion H. Longshore | Mrs. Dorothy Steffens |

Don't forget about the 1st of Oct. 1963 when you can see the movie "No Man is an Island" at the Fallsington Community Center.

**LIVE . . . LEARN . . . WORK
 • TOGETHER •**

NO MAN IS AN ISLAND-

*"No Man is an Island
 Entire of Itself; Every
 Man is a Piece of the
 Continent, A Part of
 the Main."*

HUMAN RELATIONS COUNCIL OF BUCKS COUNTY

BIG THINGS HAVE BEEN HAPPENING IN BUCKS COUNTY

In the last few years . . . the entire character of the area is changing . . . new industry, enormous housing developments, bridges, highways, schools and most important of all—new people.

This growth brings the promise of an impressive future for Bucks County, but the growth also has brought problems for the residents, old and new.

Bucks County the new industrial center, Bucks County the home of Levittown and Fairless Hills, has received much national and regional attention.

We who live in Bucks County, however, are more concerned with the problems of the people of Bucks County, and have organized to meet this challenge.

*"No Man is an Island Entire of Itself;
Every Man is a Piece of the Continent;
A Part of the Main"*

The Human Relations Council of Bucks County

Local citizens are working to make sure that Bucks County becomes a democratic community, living up to the best American tradition.

The Human Relations Council of Bucks County came into being in May 1952. Our Board of Directors, Committees and membership are persons from many communities and represent various types of activity—management, labor, business, professions. We come from various religious and racial backgrounds—Catholic, Protestant, Jewish, Negro and white. We are a cross section of average citizens.

Our constitution states:

"The Purposes for which this Council is formed are to foster understanding among all ethnic groups and to obtain their active cooperation in building a truly democratic community where each human being shall share in its responsibility and benefits, regardless of race, creed, or color."

WHAT DO WE WANT FOR BUCKS COUNTY?

HOUSING, JOBS, RECREATION, SCHOOLS—these four words sum up the main ingredients of any community life. We are interested that "each human being . . . share the responsibility and benefits in these areas of life. Specifically, this means that housing should be open to all who can qualify for it. Jobs should be secured and held on the basis of performance. Playgrounds, centers and similar facilities should be available to those who want to use them. A sound education must be available for all.

WHAT IS OUR PROGRAM?

HOUSING: The Committee on Housing: visits builders and developers, calls on appropriate government agencies, consults with housing experts, conducts education programs, holding panel discussions and distributing literature.

EMPLOYMENT: The Committee on Employment. visits employers and labor unions, distributes educational literature, counsels with job seekers, awards an annual prize for employment on merit.

EDUCATIONAL ACTIVITIES: The Council. Holds regular public meetings, to report to our members, investigates and mediates intergroup tension situations, develops leadership training activities, such as Human Relations Seminar, plans cooperative projects with the schools.

WHERE DO YOU FIT IN?

Take Part in Our Program. One of the areas covered in our program must mean a lot to you, as someone with a stake in the future of Bucks County. Choose the activity which means the most to you. Share in our work.

Attend Our Meetings. Notable speakers, important issues presented. Be sure you are on our mailing list.

Become a Member. Lend your moral and financial support to this effort to make our County a noteworthy example of democracy.

Newtown Lawyer Will Defend Nonconformists In Campaign To Keep Human Rights Alive

By PAUL BLANSHARD JR.

"I disagree with what you say, but I will defend with my life your right to say it"

The words sound old, even old-fashioned, today. A new project of the American Friends Service Committee, headed by a Bucks Countian, promises to breathe fresh life into such sentiments which not so long ago served as the basis for our famous Bill of Rights

Lawyer Frederick L. Fuges of Newtown recently began a two-year Rights of Conscience project seeking to reaffirm man's right to be more answerable to his God and conscience than the temporary dictates of his state.

Is it disloyal not to take state loyalty oaths? Should people like Kent Larrabee of Fallsington be jailed for refusal to take shelter in New York civil defense tests because they call such tests "unrealistic?" Can naturalization papers for immigrants properly be refused because of a pacifist viewpoint by the applicant? Should Congress seek to cite for contempt and imprison those who use legal means to prevent informing on friends during Congressional investigations?

OFFERS LEGAL HELP

These are some of the areas of the Fuges work, supported by a grant from the Fund for the Republic. At personal sacrifice the dark-haired father of three is now organizing across the nation a legal edicts bureau for all those impelled to say "no" to the above queries

The Rights of Conscience program took on Larrabee's case early. While sirens howled and most citizens scurried for cover in a mock air raid on Manhattan, Larrabee and other objectors simply stood out in the open near City Hall.

"We were not being insolent," says Larrabee, an executive for the Fellowship of Reconciliation. "We did so out of deep conviction that civil defense tests are morally wrong and give a misleading impression that there is some defense against hydrogen warfare. We feel that the only defense is abolition of war as a human device. Mock drills obscure the real issue, are a waste of time, energy and financial resources"

FREE ON BAIL

New York, where Larrabee works, is the only state which has a law to punish this type of action. The Fallsington resident is free on bail while the A. F. S. C. group headed by Fuges defends his right of conscience before the courts

The new group does not yet have a list of

test and unwritten, are really just producing nonconformity by taking away such rights. This is wrong. We hope to make some mark against such wrong.

Fuges, owner of an 80-acre farm in Newtown Township and possessor of a cheerful disposition to go along with his legal knowledge, will apparently need every ounce of his good sense to conduct this unusual project.

Fulton Lewis Jr. already has attacked the A. F. S. C. as dupes of the Communist line after he spent one day in the Philadelphia offices, trying to find something sinister about the new effort.

"Is there any precedent in our religious teachings to justify refusal to take loyalty oaths?" Lewis asked on the radio. The implication was that the Quakers were using religion as a shield to defy democratic safeguards

The A. F. S. C. showed abundant precedents, starting with Matthew 5:37 and reciting how Quakers went to jail in 17th Century England rather than take oaths of religious conformity actually aimed at Roman Catholics.

RELIGION OVER PATRIOTISM

"We want to practice better the moral and spiritual values taught us by our religions, that's the nub of it," says Fuges. "A truly religious man can never give all his allegiance to the state. We must keep God and moral law right in the center of our sights always"

Better yet, Fuges likes to quote William Penn along the line that a government owes its citizens a duty to be guided itself by moral law. "Government seems to me," said Penn, "a part of religion itself, a thing sacred in its institution and end."

The calm lawyer grins as he acknowledges that his new work may not win any popularity ratings at the moment. He shows as a sample of the difficulties and misunderstandings of our time a clipping recounting an American Legion attack on the Fund for the Republic.

"Funny thing," he points out. "Do you notice that the Fund was a principal backer of the Legion's Americanism program in Illinois, where the man lives who is Legion national commander and led the attack on the Fund?"

VOICES FROM AFAR

Other voices have been heard about the Rights of Conscience program which Fuges directs, often many miles from wife Mary, children Chris, Betsy and Freddie, various sheep, cattle, bantam cocks and assorted creatures on his farm.

cases. It will be concerned, however, with cases like that of the Roman Catholic conscientious objector. The draft board asked the C. O.'s priest if that church taught the doctrine of pacifism upon which the young man based his stand. The priest said "no." The board refused to honor the draftee's C. O. position.

Or take the case of Larry Garra, hailed before the courts for counselling a draftee to become a conscientious objector. You cannot do this current practice says because it is prejudicing the personal decision of the draftee. The court said nothing about the thousands of counsellors everywhere ready to advise young men on which branch to enter, how best to get along, etc.

Such thorny problems of the past are typical of the work which Fuges and his policy committee (seven lawyers eight laymen five additional consultants including William Rahill of Bryn Gwelled) will be tackling in the future. Cases will be chosen carefully based on conscience. A steadfast attempt is being made not to take on straight civil liberties cases.

CRUSH NONCONFORMITY

Although the Bill of Rights does not use the word conscience, says Fuges, it has been recognized that the rights therein were intended to protect conscience. A good many of today's regulations, writ-

"The least of the Quaker's worries is that his motive may be misunderstood," said an editorial in the distinguished Hartford Courant. "From the days of George Fox, Quakers have been habituated to taking their lumps for their conscience sake. In moving as they do now they have put their finger on a sensitive nerve."

"The fear of saboteurs, spies, Communists and subversive (in this country since World War II) has been based on much shadow and some substance. But it has led to a general forgetfulness of the fact that this country grew great by its cultivation of individualists, of men who had their own personal beliefs, however unique. . . . But fear, in recent years, has led to conformity and the American mind has, in effect, been uniformly garbed in charcoled gray."

"This country is big enough, strong enough, sure enough of itself so that it can afford to permit tiny discordant groups to follow any peculiarities of thought that may occur to them. Sometimes these peculiarities of thought become the guiding light of succeeding generations."

Just keeping the light of conscience alive will be enough for Fuges these next two years. After the oppressive night of McCarthyism, Americans may well recognize how much such light means to the liberty we love.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

DATE: December 7, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/afp

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Fulton Lewis was pretty much exercised on the late afternoon of December 6th. He received word from [redacted] of Mutual Broadcasting Company that [redacted] wanted Fulton to call [redacted] father in [redacted]. He did call [redacted] who outlined that they had been to Detroit yesterday in connection with the annual 30 million (tire or dollar, Fulton did not remember which) order from the Ford Motor Company. This is the largest tire order which the General Tire Company has. While in Detroit considerable concern was expressed over the Fulton Lewis attacks on the Fund for the Republic and it was stated that Fulton had referred to Henry Ford II as a "peanut head"; that the Ford Motor Company was considerably upset; that they were losing sales and getting tons of critical mail. Ping Ferry was in Detroit with an individual by the name of [redacted] of the Ford Motor Company [redacted] challenged the statement that Fulton had called Henry Ford a "peanut head." This seemed to be the specific item that was of greatest concern to the Ford Motor Company people and [redacted] could not believe that Fulton had done this. Ferry stated that he would appear in Akron next week with the documentary proof.

Fulton cannot recall having made any such statement. I could not recall Fulton having made such a statement. Fulton did recall in 1952 during the convention he was a little vitriolic at Henry Ford II, Paul Hoffman and [redacted] that he may have said something at that time.

Fulton, however, was all excited over Ferry being in Detroit and going to Akron because this would appear that Ferry was tied in closer with the Ford Motor Company than other ones. Fulton further stated that he had, of course, to face the fact that he could not be the instrumentality whereby the General Tire Company would lose either a 30 million dollar or 30 million tire order. I told Fulton that I thought there were two things to be done. Number one he should look around and see if there was not something in the news pertaining either to the Ford Motor Company or Henry Ford wherein he could make some comment which would negate any such reference as "peanut head" if in fact he did make such a statement.

cc - Mr. Boardman

LBN:ptm
(4)

65 DEC 16 1955

RECORDED-66
INDEXED-66
EX-126

NO DEC 12 1955

UNRECORDED COPY FILE
UNRECORDED COPY FILE
UNRECORDED COPY FILE

Memo for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols

Secondly, he should have the people of General Tire call Detroit to inquire just what relationship Ferry has with the Ford Motor Company and what authority he has to speak for the Ford Motor Company and what connection he has with the contract for the tires. Fulton stated he thought both of these things were good suggestions.

Luck was with him since a letter was delivered to him late this afternoon, December 6, dated December 2, 1955, addressed to a critic of the Ford Motor Company signed by Henry Ford II. The letter stated that Henry had just returned from Europe. The letter then pointed out that neither the Ford Motor Company nor the Ford Foundation had anything to do with the Fund for the Republic, but that he, as a private citizen, had taken what action he could; namely, in calling to the attention of the Fund of the Republic some of its dubious activities and its bad judgment. This represented, for all intents and purposes, a repudiation of the Fund for the Republic. I told Fulton that this was the item he was looking for; that he should give it this interpretation, give Henry a pat on the back for it and then in the next day or two see if Henry would not go a little further.

He talked to [] further, who was very happy over the developments and [] told Fulton not to let up on Hutchins and his crowd because they were no good.

Robert

N.Y.

b6
b7C

V. gm

*This is nothing but
blackmail. Hutchins
& Ferry have upon
freedom & bill of rights
yet where Lewis speaks
his rights they holler
~~that~~ attack dogs
like*

D.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 7, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
DECEMBER 7, 1955

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

On this date, Fulton Lewis, Jr., devoted a few moments of his program to a discussion of the Ford Foundation and Freedom Agenda program.

According to Lewis, Henry Ford II made a public statement on December 7 and said that despite the fact that he, Ford, had no legal right to intervene in the affairs of the Fund for the Republic, he had exercised his rights as a private citizen to question the manner in which the Fund had attempted to achieve some of its stated objectives. Ford stated he felt that some of the Fund's actions have been dubious in character. According to Lewis, Ford also stated it was only natural for him to feel a deep sense of concern when and if the Fund's activities reflected a discredit on the Ford Foundation or Ford Motor Company.

Lewis announced that one Bella Dodd (phonetic), an ex-communist, who has testified before congressional committees, recently filed a libel suit against the Ford Foundation and had named all the members of the Board of Directors in the suit. Dodd brought the suit in regard to an article written by one Richard Rovere (phonetic). The article was entitled "They Kept Witnesses," and according to Lewis, the Ford Fund has distributed approximately 25,000 copies of this article.

With regard to the Freedom Agenda program, Lewis again went into its background and recalled it was financed by a \$111,000 grant from the Fund and was operating under the name of the Carrie Chapman Memorial Fund of the League of Women Voters. Lewis discussed what he termed as the "prescribed" reading material which the League of Woman Voters was using on a local level to "brain wash" the public. He stated that pamphlets are issued for 7 weekly prescribed subjects, and he

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

RECORDED - 39

DEC 13 1955

INDEXED - 39

TED:nma:bs

71 DEC 14 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 88053/als

Memorandum to Mr. Nichols

December 7, 1955

described these pamphlets as coming from the "anti-anti-communist" side. He cited an example of this literature and named an article by one [redacted] (phonetic) of Dartmouth College. According to Lewis, Carr criticized congressional investigating committees and stated that communism was a "political opinion." According to Lewis, [redacted] said that some of the main reasons why these congressional investigating committees are organized and conducted are:

b6
b7C

- (1) A desire for the political advancement and personal glory on the part of the various Congressmen involved.
- (2) These investigating committees in holding hearings make "big plays" for newspaper and related publicity in order to further the aims of the Congressmen and individuals directly involved.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

✓

✓

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 7, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/agSUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
DECEMBER 6, 1955.

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

The following is a verbatim transcript of the broadcast of
Fulton Lewis Jr., on the night of December 6, 1955.

Tonight, in connection with the Fund for the Republic, headed by
Mr. Paul Hoffman, Robert Manard Hutchins, W. H. Ping Ferry and [redacted]

[redacted] and the news involves
none other than Henry Ford II, who is head of the Ford Motor Company, as you
know, also chairman of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation, which is as I informed
you in the early days of this series of broadcasts, made a \$15,000,000 grant to this
Fund for the Republic back in 1951 and 52 with no strings attached. In the interim,
the Fund for the Republic has had a garish career of giving grants to left-wing
organizations of every description, putting up money to pay defense attorneys for
deliberate law breakers, paid for slanted bibliographies on communism, hired
admitted former communists, put former communist Earl Browder on a project
payroll, financed the League of Women Voters in the highly slanted nationwide
Freedom Agenda program, financed the widespread distribution of literature designed
to tear down the Government's loyalty and security program, and has indulged in
a long list of other similar projects, too numerous to detail here. Throughout this
time, as I reported to you on several occasions, letters of protest from the
general public have been flowing into Mr. Henry Ford II, some of them quite
violent, and as I told you he began sending out form replies some months ago.
They are typed individually by automatic process, but the language, is form
language, saying correctly that the Ford Foundation has no power over the
activities of the Fund for the Republic; that all connections were cut at the time
the gift was made and that any inquiries about activities of the Fund for the
Republic should be addressed to the Fund itself. A non-committal letter simply
disavowing responsibility. (For some weeks now, Henry Ford II has been in Europe
and during this time the temperature has been increasing, as you well know. As of
tonight, however, Mr. Henry Ford II has come up with a signed condemnation of the

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information only.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

BMS:sms:nma

(7)

INDEXED-68
RECORDED-68

DEC 13 1955 EX-126

DEC 13 1955

CRIME

December 7, 1955

activities of the Fund for the Republic and it stated that he as a private citizen has expressed his disapproval to the Fund for the Republic itself. The statement is in the form of a new letter, copies of which I have received in some number from listeners which reads as follows, and this is under date of December 2, 1955:

"Dear Mr. [redacted] Your recent letter was brought to my attention last week upon my return from a trip abroad. The Ford Motor Company has no control whatever over either the Ford Foundation or any of the funds including the Fund for the Republic established by the Foundation. Besides being president of the Ford Motor Company, I am also Chairman of the Trustees of the Ford Foundation. It is only natural for me to feel a deep sense of concern for any action that reflects discredit on either the Company or the Foundation. Because the Fund for the Republic was established as a completely independent organization neither I nor any of the other trustees of the Foundation has a voice in the Fund's activities or project. We have had no control over the selection of personnel for the Fund's staff. As trustees of the Foundation we appointed the original board of the Fund consisting of sixteen well-known and patriotic people in 1951. These directors were given the authority to select other directors and their successors without reference to us. They have exercised this authority in seven instances and have carried out their program on their own responsibility." (Now comes the all-important paragraph.) "Despite the fact that I have no legal right to intervene in the affairs of the Fund for the Republic, I have exercised my right as a private citizen to question the manner in which the Fund has attempted to achieve its stated objective. Some of its actions I feel have been dubious in character and inevitably have lead to charges of poor judgment. What effect my comments may have remain to be seen. I am satisfied, however, that no public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities if it does not respond to intelligent and constructive public criticism. Very Sincerely, Henry Ford II."

b6
b7c

Now presumably the statement will be turned into a public statement at an early date but at least it has been made and Mr. Henry Ford II deserves all due credit for making it once the facts about the Fund for the Republic have been laid on the records. This clears him of any responsibility or any tacit approval of the things that the Fund for the Republic is doing and has done and it certainly clarifies the atmosphere. The fact is, in essence it leaves the Fund for the Republic as an independent and unattached propaganda fund without prospect of any further financing from the Ford Foundation nonetheless dangerous, but at least not carrying the dignity and the prestige of the Ford name. From here on, Mr. Paul Hoffman and his Mr. Hutchins have to shoulder full responsibility for everything that is done unless the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic sees fit to terminate Mr. Hutchins' contract which of course is possible and thus install the NEW management which, after all, they could have done at any time along the line.

Memo to Mr. Nichols

December 7, 1955

That goes also for the rest of the topside staff of the Fund including Hal Hoffman and W. H. Ping Ferry although Paul Hoffman, as Chairman of the Board probably is in for as long as he desires to stay inasmuch as the Board is self-perpetuated. He would have to resign voluntarily which, on second thought, would be an excellent idea. Any way, at long last here is the repudiation of the Fund for the Republic by Henry Ford II, himself.

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *for*

DATE: December 9, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones *mf*SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
FRIDAY, DECEMBER 9, 1955

Tolson	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Boardman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nichols	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Belmont	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Harbo	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Mohr	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Parsons	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Rosen	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Stam	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Nease	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Winterrowd	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Tele. Room	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Holloman	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>
Gandy	<input checked="" type="checkbox"/>

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast of Friday evening, 12/9/55, devoted the last half of his program to the Fund for the Republic. He stated that for a change he was going to talk about it from a new and different angle and tell a little bit about the financial side of the Fund. He said Robert Hutchins prides himself on being a great administrator and executive, and that Paul Hoffman is Hutchins' patron saint. He stated that Hutchins and Hoffman throw mutual compliments to each other, and that Hutchins' out of gratitude has employed Hoffman's "dream world" son in the Fund, and he is in charge of their West Coast Operations.

Lewis said that Henry Ford criticized the Fund a few days ago, and he hoped that Ford would be listening in to his broadcast as he would be shocked.

Lewis said that raising funds has become quite a profession in the U.S. He said he made a little survey of his own and discovered that it cost the District of Columbia Community Chest 9¢ on the dollar to raise funds. He said an Episcopal Church in Washington recently had a fund-raising campaign, raised \$85,000, and it cost them 6¢ on the dollar. He then analyzed the Fund's financial statement as set out in their annual report and stated that it cost the Fund 3.8¢ on the dollar. He stated there were reasons why the Fund's figure was much lower than the other two and pointed out that the Fund received \$15,000,000 and consequently had no fund-raising costs involved. He then referred to another section of the annual report of the Fund which showed that grants by the Fund cost approximately \$1,600,000, and administrative expenses and so forth were \$650,500. He concluded, therefore, that using these figures as legitimate costs would cost the Fund 35¢ for every dollar utilized. He pointed out that there was no cost of raising funds involved in this figure, and it certainly reflected poor administration and if this was an example of the executive ability on the part of Hoffman, then "God help the stockholders of Studebaker Corporation."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman

DGH:nma:afb

(8)

6 DEC 16 1955

100-391697-313
RECORDED-92
INDEXED-92
ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-2-89 BY 888513100

6 DEC 14 1955

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

STANDARD FORM NO. 64

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT

DATE: December 12, 1955

FROM : MR. R. R. ROACH

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN

OTHERWISE

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, et al.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____

There are enclosed copies of communications which were given to Liaison Agent Papich on 12-9-55

(S)

ACTION:

EXEMPTED FROM AUTOMATIC
DECLASSIFICATION

AUTHORITY DERIVED FROM:

FBI AUTOMATIC DECLASSIFICATION GUIDE

EXEMPTION CODE 25X(1)

DATE 08-09-2011

ur information.

Classification per OGA Letter dated 7/18/2011

pgs 46-52

(6) 415 576N

RECORDED-48

100-391697-314

1 DEC 14 1955

- 1 - Mr. Nichols
- 1 - Mr. Belmont
- 1 - Mr. W.C. Sullivan
- 1 - Liaison Section
- 1 - Mr. Papich

INDEXED-48
EX-118

Enclosures Classified by 22351/100
Declassify on: OADR 8-3-89

100-391697

50 DEC 19 1955

SECRET

CONFIDENTIAL

(S)

FOI/PA # 279638, 279639
APPEAL #
CIVIL ACT. #
E.O. # 12356
DATE 2-2-99 INITIALS

b1 per OGA
b3

RECEIVED
DEC 14 1955

Mr. Nichols

December 12, 1955

M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 288013/af

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST 7:00 P.M.
12/13/55

Lewis, in his broadcast of this date, stated that the National Committee for an Effective Congress is back in action again for the 1956 elections. He related that the thinking of this organization parallels closely that of the Ford Fund for the Republic. A letter soliciting contributions had been distributed by this organization and is contacting the same sources that the Ford Fund for the Republic utilized. This letter was signed by Sidney H. Carter (phonetic) and Telford Taylor. Lewis announced that he is going to give a run-down of Carter and Taylor in his broadcast of 12-14-55. Lewis repeated the testimony in Chicago before the HCUA of Herbert Fuchs, former professor of law at American University in Washington, D. C. Fuchs testified that he was the head of a communist cell of communist attorneys employed at the National Labor Relations Board during the period 1937-1942. Lewis further added that American University officials had encouraged Fuchs to cooperate with the HCUA, and then after his previous testimony before this body, American University fired him. Representative Weller stated that American University did its service by firing Fuchs after he had cooperated with the HCUA.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

- cc - Mr. Nichols
- cc - Mr. Belmont
- cc - Mr. Boardman
- cc - National Committee for an Effective Congress (100-

100-391697

DEC 27 1955

the new Leader

THIRTY-SECOND YEAR OF PUBLICATION

WAR IN THE MIDDLE EAST?

W. Z. Laqueur

THE DRAFT IN BRITAIN

Denis Healey, MP

JAPAN'S LEFT UNITES

Takeo Naoi

'PEACEFUL COMPETITION'

Michael Karpovich

NEW RED TECHNIQUES

Allen W. Dulles



NEW CASTLE STRIKE

Mitchel Levitas

OCTOBER 31, 1955

15
cents

100-391697-314
ENCLOSURE

BETWEEN ISSUES

LADIES AND GENTLEMEN, we owe you an apology. We never thought we'd be duped by the conspiracy theory of history, but it seems we have been. Just last week, we passed on to you a myth started a decade-and-a-half ago which has as much real basis as the man in the moon. To be sure, the myth was launched in a national newsweekly which prides itself on its infallibility; but we should never have been taken in. We are indebted for the correction to Daniel Bell, whose book *The New American Right* will be published in a few weeks by Criterion Books. Dan was here at the time, while the present writer of this column was out playing punch ball.

The story we told last week was of a Monday morning some fifteen years ago when NEW LEADER editors found the office in complete disarray. The man who arrived first in the office, it seems, was Dan Bell, who drew no conclusions. Another editor (whom we shall leave nameless) arrived somewhat later, saw the mess, thought about our close relations with General Walter G. Krivitsky (former chief of Soviet Military Intelligence in Western Europe), and put two and two together. "The GPU!" he cried, and quickly called the local press. According to Dan Bell, one reporter who refused to believe the GPU tale was Frederick Woltman, then as now anti-Communist specialist for the Scripps-Howard newspapers. (This level-headedness about conspiracies on Woltman's part may have something to do with his sterling series on Senator McCarthy a year ago.) But not all the newsmen were as cool as Freddy Woltman. A national newsweekly picked up the GPU tale and ran it out to a column and a half. (That, more or less, is how we got the story.)

A few days later, recounts Bell, the late Lena Morrow Lewis, a devoted old Socialist who sometimes used our offices

for her own work, stormed in to see Bell. "Where do they get that GPU stuff?" she said. "It was a Union Square bum who came for my carrots. I saw him leave." It seems Mrs. Lewis occasionally liked to come to the office on Sunday afternoons, bringing with her a few tidbits to munch on in the course of the day. On this occasion, she had left a large bunch of carrots in a desk drawer and then gone into another room for a half hour. When she returned, she saw a disheveled man hurriedly climbing out the window and down the fire escape, the carrots under his arm. Mrs. Lewis did not see fit to inform the police or the press.

We recount this tale now for several reasons. First, we don't want you to be misinformed. Second, we are always glad to see a horrendous "conspiracy" debunked. Finally, we must always think of future historians. "Imagine," Dan Bell says, "some new book on Soviet espionage with the sentence: 'The GPU was so active and venturesome in this period that it did not hesitate to raid; if necessary, the premises of anti-Communist publications like THE NEW LEADER.'" So if you know any future historians, please let them know that it was Lena Lewis's carrots that started the whole affair. (What? Stalin's eyes were failing that year and the USSR was short of carrots? Well, now you *do* have an interesting theory.)

NOTED BRIEFLY: E. G. Shinner's proposals on the housing problem constitute but one of three special sections we shall publish in coming issues. In addition, we will have a comprehensive review by Alfred Baker Lewis of the major changes in American social patterns over the last 25 years, and a thorough, world-wide analysis by Simon Wolin of Communist strengths and weaknesses in the decade since World War II. Look for these special sections soon.

MONDAY, OCTOBER 31, 1955

EDITORIAL BOARD

Editor: William E. Bohn. Executive editor: S. M. Levitas. Managing editor: Anatole Shub. Associate editors: Louis Jay Herman, Myron Kolatch. Literary consultant: Granville Hicks. Literary associate: Mary V. Greene. Promotion manager: Peter Jacobsohn. Drama critic: Joseph T. Shipley. Contributing editors: David J. Dallin, William Henry Chamberlin.

CORRESPONDENTS

Washington: W. V. Eckardt, David C. Williams. Atlanta: Joseph R. Fiszman. Boston: Courtney R. Sheldon. Chicago: Albert N. Votaw. Dallas: Bicknell Eubanks. Minneapolis: Sam Romer. New Orleans: Foust Richards. Richmond: Lawrence T. King. St. Louis: William K. Wyant Jr. San Francisco: Frank Mankiewicz.

Ottawa: A. Andras. Latin America: Victor Alba, Robert J. Alexander, Serafino Romualdi. London: G. L. Arnold, Denis Healey M. P. Paris: Sal Tas. Madrid: Richard Mowrer. Rome: Edmund Stevens. Bonn: Richard C. Hottelet. Berlin: Melvin J. Lasky. Vienna: G. E. R. Gedye. Stockholm: Laszlo Hamori. Near East: Walter Z. Laqueur. New Delhi: G. S. Bhargava, S. R. Mohan Das. Tokyo: Takeo Naoi. East Asia: Richard Deverall, Edward Hunter.

Photographs by International News.

THE NEW LEADER: Published weekly by The American Labor Conference on International Affairs, Inc. Publication Office: 34 N. Crystal Street, East Stroudsburg, Pa. Editorial and executive office: 7 East 15th Street, New York 3, N. Y. Telephone: ALgonquin 5-1244. (Postmaster: If undelivered, send form 3579 to New York office.) Price this issue: 15 cents. Subscription: \$5 a year. Canadian \$6, foreign \$7. Entered as second class matter in post office at East Stroudsburg, Pa., May 9, 1950.

the new
Leader

Coming: War in the Middle East?: W. Z. LAQUEUR	3
Britain Argues Draft Term: DENIS HEALEY	6
The Home Front: WILLIAM E. BOHN	8
Japan Achieves Socialist Unity: TAKEO NAOI	9
Guilty: RICHARD ARMOUR	10
Singapore's Stormy Petrel: PETER SCHMID	11
National Reports: MITCHEL LEVITAS, SAM ROMER	13
Peaceful Competition Offers Opportunities: MICHAEL KARPOVICH	16
New Techniques of Communist Disruption: ALLEN DULLES	19
Yugoslavia: Facade and Reality: BOGDAN RADITSA	20
Where the News Ends: WILLIAM HENRY CHAMBERLIN	22

Writers and Writing

Our Most Influential Philosopher: CHARLES FRANKEL	23
A Misleading Guide to U. S. Communism: JOHN A. SESSIONS	25
Lady Chatterley in Italy: HELENE CANTARELLA	26
The Building of Modern Israel: LEON DENNEN	27
On Stage: JOSEPH T. SHIPLEY	28
Dear Editor	29

Signed contributions do not necessarily represent the views of The New Leader. We welcome a variety of opinions consistent with our democratic policy.

VOLUME XXXVIII, NUMBER 43

8

8

THE TAMIMENT INSTITUTE



ALLEN

Book Award Luncheon

in honor of



WHITMAN

Mr. GAY WILSON ALLEN

Professor of English, New York University and
Winner of the 1955 TAMIMENT INSTITUTE SIXTH ANNUAL BOOK AWARD
For His Biography Of WALT WHITMAN
— *"THE SOLITARY SINGER"* —

*Mr. Granville Hicks
will deliver an address on Walt Whitman following the
presentation of the award.*

Saturday

DECEMBER 3, 1955

12:45 p.m.

The Sert Room

The Waldorf-Astoria Hotel
Park Avenue & 50th Street, New York

For luncheon tickets (\$5 per person) write to:

Tamiment Institute, 7 East 15th Street, New York 3, N. Y. (ALgonquin 5-7333)



Mrs. Brown refused to sink

"Keep rowing or I'll toss you all overboard"

The threat came from a redhead in c
bloomers, with a Colt .45 lashed to her waist.
the lifeboat marked *S.S. Titanic* lurched in
waves, she rowed too, rowed until her hands bl

Mrs. Margaret Tobin Brown had come a long w
to take charge of that crowded lifeboat. Once penni
less, she now had millions. Once semi-illiterate, she
now knew five languages. Once spurned by Denver
society, she now hobnobbed with nobility.

But, as she said, "You can't wear the social regis
ter for water wings." Her \$60,000 chinchilla cloak
covered three children; her other outer garments she
had given to elderly women. She swore, threatened,
sang grand opera, joked—and she kept her boatload
of wretched survivors going till rescue came.

Asked how she'd done it, she replied, "Typical
Brown luck. I'm unsinkable." But it wasn't luck. It
was pluck. And Americans have always had plenty of
that smiling, hardy courage. When you come to think
of it, that's one reason why our country's Savings
Bonds rank among the world's finest investments.

For 160 million determined Americans stand be
hind those Bonds.

The surest way to protect your own security—and
the nation's—is through United States Savings
Bonds. Invest in them regularly—and hold on to them.

★ ★ ★

It's actually easy to save money—when you buy United
States Series E Savings Bonds through the automatic
Payroll Savings Plan where you work! You just sign an
application at your pay office; after that your saving
is done for you. And the Bonds you receive will pay
you interest at the rate of 3% per year, compounded
semiannually, for as long as 19 years and 8 months, if
you wish! Sign up today! Or, if you're self-employed,
invest in Bonds regularly where you bank.

*Safe as America—
U.S. Savings Bonds*

The U. S. Government does not pay for this advertisement. It is donated by the People's Educational
Camp Society, Inc. in cooperation with the Advertising Council and the Magazine Publishers of America.



Chances of
a conflict in
the area are
greater now than
ever before

Coming: War in the Middle East?

By W. Z. Laqueur

LONDON
THE CHANCES of war in the Middle East are greater now than at any time since major Arab-Israeli hostilities were halted on January 7, 1949. Moreover, in the current international atmosphere, the Western powers can do little beyond lodging diplomatic protests and warnings at Geneva, Moscow, Cairo and Jerusalem. Never in recent years, in fact, have conditions in the Middle East been less dependent on what the West might or might not do.

The new Soviet drive to gain a foothold in the area, resulting in the Czech-Egyptian arms deal, did not surprise Middle Eastern observers. If there is any cause for surprise, it is that this offensive has come rather late. It could just as well have come during the Mossadegh era or at the time of Egypt's "Black Saturday."

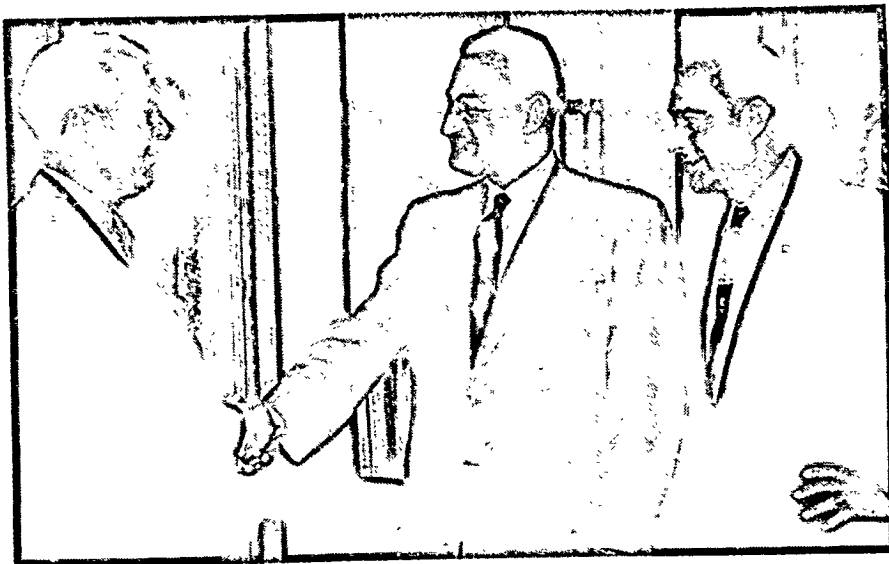
The Middle East has been one of Russia's traditional spheres of interest for almost 200 years, and Soviet-Western rivalry there was a frequent occurrence in the nineteenth century. For a brief period after World War I, the Soviet Union "withdrew" from the sphere. This was repeated after World War II, when attempts to move into northern Iran and Turkey failed. As it turned out, however, this second involuntary retreat was very much to Moscow's advantage. It was viewed as proof of Russia's lack of interest in the area and provided a sharp contrast to the "imperialist" West's attempts to draw the Middle East into its defense plans.

The free world's policy was bound to fail, for the simple reason that most of the Arab states have little in common with the West. Even if we disregard the fact that the "defense of Western values" has little meaning to the Arabs, we must note that there was no minimum agreement on international politics either. With the possible exception of Iraq, the Arab states have always rejected the idea of a Soviet danger, regarding it as a device to perpetuate Western domination of the Middle East.

Why has Moscow shifted from its highly successful non-intervention policy? The answer immediately presents itself when one observes that the switch to more aggressive tactics followed the emergence of the West's "Northern Tier" defense plan. This began to take shape early in the

year with the Turkish-Iraqi pact. It has been further expanded by the adhesion of Pakistan, Iran and Britain to the agreement. As seen from Moscow, a new Soviet drive in the Middle East was imperative under these conditions, and it was launched this spring.

Egypt and the other Arab countries that had refused to join the West's proposed defense alliance became Russia's natural allies. The Soviet attitude toward these states, which had been extremely critical and sometimes openly hostile, ~~sharply~~ attacked as "fascist hangmen" for the execution of Moslem Brotherhood leaders and the arrest of some Communist chieftains.) It is impossible to list even briefly the many steps



NASSER WITH U.S. ENVOYS GEORGE ALLEN (LEFT) AND HENRY BYROADE

taken by Moscow during the last six months to establish closer relations with the Arab League. In addition to sending delegations of scientists, churchmen, footballers, etc. to the Arab world and inviting it to send similar groups to Communist countries, Moscow has strengthened its economic ties with the Arabs (although the political importance of trade relations is frequently exaggerated). The *rapprochement* culminated in the Czechoslovak arms deal and a Soviet promise to give Egypt (and other Arab countries) "all possible help"—whatever that may mean.

What are Russia's intentions in the Middle East? Some Western observers have argued that the Kremlin merely wants to demonstrate that it, too, is a Middle Eastern power and must be consulted on all decisions affecting the area. This implies that Russia would be willing to share responsibility with the West for maintaining peace there. It suggests, further, that Moscow would be willing to sign the Western powers' 1950 declaration to that effect.

Those who present this theory, however, are basing it on an unduly naive spirit. Local wars have become more, not less, likely as a result of the understanding that there will be no major conflict in the foreseeable future. The Soviet Union has nothing to gain from a preservation of the *status quo* in the Middle East; it can greatly aid its cause by upsetting the equilibrium in that part of the world.

Ideological considerations are not involved here, because there are no great Communist parties in the Middle East. Current Soviet policy in this area is power policy, pure and simple. It would be a mistake, therefore, to make too much of Russia's professed sympathy for the Arab world and its antagonism to Israel (as many Western observers now tend to do). Communists are quite correct in stressing that the Kremlin likes one Middle Eastern nation as much as another. But it is even more fond of conditions that are conducive

to the establishment of one or more Middle Eastern "people's democracies." And Communist domination of the Middle East is only conceivable in the wake of war. Such "inevitable wars" among non-Communist nations were predicted in Stalin's last book, *Economic Problems of Socialism in the USSR*, and his heirs apparently are intent on making the predictions come true.

In several respects, the present state of affairs brings to mind the situation that existed in 1939: Moscow, of course, cannot be held responsible for Hitler's plans of world conquest. But without the Hitler-Stalin pact of 1939 he could not have launched his attack in the West. Similarly, Moscow cannot be held responsible for the explosive conditions existing in the Middle East. But Egyptian Premier Gamal Abdel Nasser cannot start a war without Soviet backing. (Not that Moscow really cares who wins or loses this conflict.)

How did the West manage to lose the Middle East? The truth is that the West has not "had" it since France gave up her Levant mandates and England pulled out of Egypt and Palestine. That is, except in the imaginations of some British and American statesmen who completely disregard Asian realities: the lack of a firm basis for agreement, the innate neutralism of these countries, and their obvious desire to play the West off against the East and vice versa.

There is a tendency in some quarters to blame the emergence of the State of Israel for Western failure in the Middle East, but this argument crumbles under examination. For example, Russia supported Israel in 1948 and Britain did not, yet Moscow has not been harmed by its action. What is more, there is no "Israeli issue" in India or Indonesia, yet the West is encountering difficulty there, too. At best, therefore, the crisis over Israel can only be considered a symptom, not the cause, of Western-Arab friction. If this symptom were to disappear tomorrow,

Nasser and his friends would not be any more inclined to join forces with the free world; some other issue reflecting Arab resentment would take its place.

Consequently, it is not only useless but harmful to try to outbid the Russians in Cairo and Damascus at the present time. This will merely lower (and already has lowered) Western prestige. Egypt and Syria are obviously determined to play the major blocs off against each other without committing themselves to either camp. Until they realize the extent of Communist penetration as a result of their activities and are thus moved to do something about it, Western offers or words of warning will not bring about any change in this policy.

Under these circumstances, the wisest Middle Eastern course for the West is the one followed by Moscow before it launched its recent offensive: Overt intervention should be reduced to the barest minimum; attempts to organize defensive arrangements with countries that refuse to cooperate with the West anyway should be halted; close ties should be maintained with friendly countries, and normal relations should be established with all others.

What are the intentions of the Arab League? All the evidence available suggests that Egypt is bound to attack Israel, and that other Arab nations will probably follow suit. Not that a date for the conflict is already set. Nasser, with the help of Western and/or Eastern political pressure and the threat to "throw the Jews into the sea," will probably try to make Israel give up some of its territory (half of it, to be exact) and take back all the Arab refugees. But the Israeli Government is not likely to give in to such pressures, and the Cairo junta will be faced with the necessity of starting a war. For too long a period now it has been promising Israel's destruction without any firm moves in this direction; a dictatorial regime simply cannot retreat from such promises indefinitely,



ISRAEL'S FIRST INDEPENDENCE DAY CELEBRATION: 'THERE ARE MORE ARMS IN THE MIDDLE EAST NOW'

especially when public opinion has been whipped into a state of frenzy.

Communist arms deliveries to Egypt will be made over a five-year period, but internal pressures are so strong that Nasser cannot wait that long to launch his campaign. Moreover, Israel cannot be expected to play the "sitting duck" role for five years, although the procedure for making a decision—particularly one that concerns war—is very cumbersome in a democratic country. There is overwhelming pressure on the Israeli Government to accept the Egyptian challenge before all the Communist MIGs and tanks have been delivered. This does not mean that "preventive war" is being urged, but it does indicate that the Middle East could now find itself engaged in a full-scale war as a result of one of the weekly incidents that have previously been considered a normal part of the armistice.

Theoretically, Israel could counter the Egyptian-Czechoslovak arms deal by requesting similar Soviet aid, but a democratic country has far less freedom of movement *vis-à-vis* the Soviet Union than a dictatorship. Thus, Israel has asked the Western powers for a defense pact, including a guarantee of its frontiers and arms

to balance the Communist shipments. But Washington and London have refused any such guarantee and rejected the arms request. They have warned Israel, moreover, not to do anything that might "provoke the Egyptians." Otherwise, it has been stated, the West will have to act against Israel.

These warnings, however, have not made much of an impression in Jerusalem. It would be extremely unpleasant for Israel, of course, if Western economic help was cut off and an arms embargo, or possibly a blockade, was imposed. But if the dilemma is to incur Western displeasure or an Arab League invasion with superior forces, it is easy to see which course Israel will follow. In contrast to 1948, too, there are enough arms in the Middle East now to sustain a war for several months. And the West could not intervene as it did in Korea, for this would give the Soviet Union cause for intervention, too.

A Middle Eastern war within the next year would probably end in an Israeli victory, a war at a later date in a stalemate. Even an Israeli victory would not be conclusive; it would mean destruction of the enemy's forces, but a small country

of less than two million people cannot hope for a lasting decision. Victory in the second round would not preclude a third round. In the long run, therefore, military success alone cannot solve Israel's problems.

A second defeat, or even a stalemate, would bring chaos to the Arab world. The Cairo junta, or in any case Nasser, would be overthrown unless it was evident within a few weeks that the Arabs were going to win the conflict. So it is wrong to assume, as some observers may, that another war in the Middle East would solve the area's difficulties by weakening Israel and the Arab states to the point where they would be more amenable to reaching a compromise than hitherto. While it is difficult to speculate about Israel, it is fairly certain that such a war would only set up the conditions necessary for the emergence of "people's democracies" in the Middle East.

Since both the West and the Soviet Union appear unwilling to change their policies regarding this part of the world, its future seems very dim indeed. Some consolation may be found in the indisputable fact that the Middle East has proven itself unpredictable in the past, but this is cold comfort.

Labor party urges service be cut to eighteen months

Britain Argues Draft Term

By Denis Healey

LONDON
THE PERIOD of national service is now a major issue in British politics. For years, parents and employers have been begging the Government to reduce the two-year period of conscription which the Labor Government introduced just after the outbreak of the Korean War. Yet, though Britain alone in Western Europe maintains so long a period, Eden has decided despite the shift to nuclear weapons and the international detente that national service must remain at two years. Instead of reducing the period or exempting further groups of men from service, he will call up men more slowly so that the age of intake rises from 18 to 19 by the end of 1957.

The Labor party has attacked this decision as dodging the issue and creating more problems than it solves. Its annual conference at Margate rejected by almost five million votes to 1.3 million a motion calling for the total abolition of national service, but unanimously accepted another which called for an immediate reduction in the period and for an independent inquiry into the conditions of national service.

The problem is immensely difficult, and has completely changed its nature in the last few years. When the Labor Government first raised the period to two years, the main purpose of conscription was to provide trained reserves who in case of war could rapidly reinforce British troops already on the continent of Europe. Since then, the assumption

that any major European war would involve large-scale nuclear bombing of communications has made nonsense of that argument for conscription. Indeed, when Eden announced the retention of the two-year period, he also admitted for the first time that Britain is planning to provide only two reserve divisions as against the twelve originally foreseen.

But though the case for reserves has lost force, conscription has meanwhile become indispensable as a means of supplying Britain's current needs for operational troops. Britain's world-wide military commitments have hardly diminished at all since Korea. As troops were released from Trieste, Austria, Suez and Korea, new troops were needed in Malaya, Kenya and now Cyprus. Moreover, the regular core of Britain's Army has been steadily diminishing. Though pay and conditions compare more favorably than ever before with those of civilian life, soldiering is still an uncomfortable and dangerous business—particularly for the family man. And it is feared that the point may already have been reached, as with miners, where no further improvement in pay will bring a significant increase in regular servicemen. The growing shortage of first-class regular soldiers imposes still heavier burdens on those who remain. One regular battalion recently came home after serving in 19 different foreign stations since 1945.

The shortage of regular soldiers has to be made good by conscripts.

who have finished their training. In the case of infantrymen, this is normally about eight months, so that they can serve for 16 months on operational duties before release. But a tank sergeant, and other skilled NCOs, may require 18 months training: Unless the period of service is at least two years, they can make little contribution. Unfortunately, the shortage of regular soldiers is worse among experienced NCOs. Indeed, there is here a vicious circle. Far too high a proportion of regular NCOs are engaged in training national servicemen rather than operational duties. Thus a cut in the number of conscripts would ease the NCO problem. But a cut in the period of conscription would leave the same training demands on regular NCOs while robbing the regular army of conscript NCOs who had finished their training.

Worse still, a large proportion of regular soldiers are in fact young men who, when called up for national service, preferred to double their pay at the cost of an extra year's service by signing on for a three-year engagement as regular soldiers. Many, if not most, of these "regulars" would be lost if the period of conscription were cut. The brute fact is that, so long as the conscript is necessary at all to reinforce the supply of regular soldiers, his value increases rapidly with his period of service. As Mr. Attlee said at Margate, conscription is a very wasteful way of providing operational troops; but it would be even more wasteful if the period of service were shorter.

For this reason, the War Office, while prepared for a cut in the total intake of national servicemen, has always insisted that they serve for the full two years. Admitting that a proportion of conscripts may at present waste some of their time in the Army, it has urged some form of selective service which would meet its specific needs for certain types of soldier without compelling less necessary men to mark time simply for the sake of uniformity. Neither of the

two political parties has felt it possible to introduce selective service, either by ballot or by the exemption of further occupations, though in opposition Churchill used to argue the case for it. So the Government has done the next best thing by slowing down the rate of the call-up from four to three intakes a year, at the cost of prolonging the period of disturbance in a young man's life.

Neither parents nor employers will gain by this change—on the contrary. In fact, while meeting military needs, it does nothing to satisfy the demands of industry and party politics. So there will be mounting pressure on the Government to go further. That it has not done so already is probably due less to purely military considerations than to the fear that a cut in the period of conscription would start a chain reaction among Britain's European allies, even though none of them at present have so long a period as Britain. But this raises still more fundamental problems of foreign policy and global strategy.

For six years now, the military purpose of the Atlantic alliance has been to provide an international army on the continent of Europe strong enough to halt a full-scale offensive by the Red Army. So far, all the efforts and expenditure of the

Allied peoples have failed to achieve this purpose. The security of Europe still depends on the assumption that a full-scale Soviet attack would be met by atomic bombardment of Russian cities; yet the instrument of atomic retaliation is not itself under NATO's orders—it is the U.S. Strategic Air Command responsible solely to the American President.

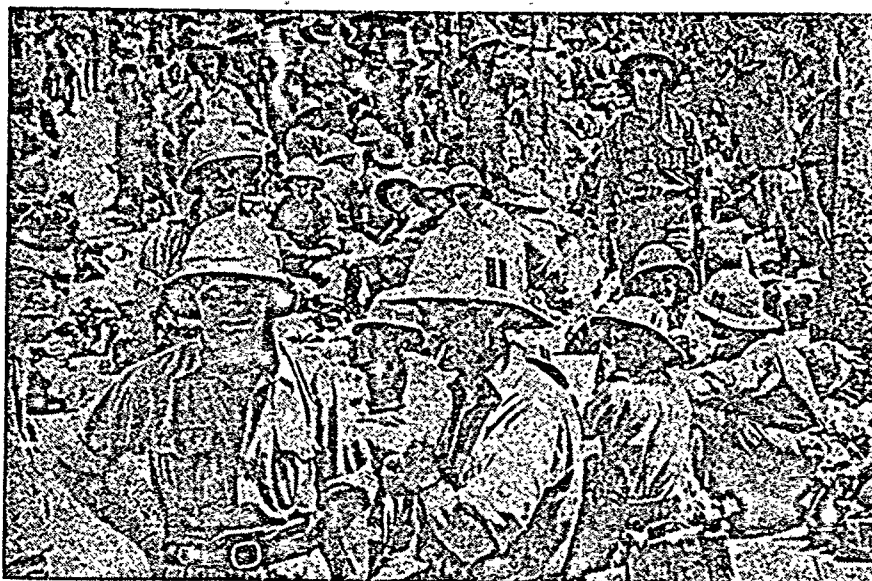
General Gruenther has often stated the conditions without which he cannot fulfil his defensive role—the use by SHAPE of atomic weapons and the addition of 12 German divisions to his existing forces. But the question now arises whether even this will suffice unless more is done to maintain existing strength. At the moment, half the French Army is tied down in North Africa, and there is no sign that this depletion of France's NATO contribution will be made good. In fact, Britain, America and Canada are the only members of NATO to have provided their full share of efficient fighting forces for Europe's Central Front.

As intoxication with the Geneva Spirit proceeds, it is inevitable that the peoples of these three countries will ask more and more insistently why they should make such sacrifices to defend allies who have failed to meet their commitments. And this demand will be strengthened by the

argument that ground forces are unnecessary anyway during the Great Thaw if the thermonuclear deterrent has proved sufficient even during the most dangerous periods of the Cold War. In Britain, members of all parties have recently argued for the total abolition of conscription on these grounds. It is a tribute to the greater realism of American thinking that the same argument is less popular in the U.S. as Russia builds up her atomic striking power. But however powerful the arguments against a complete reliance on the thermonuclear deterrent, they must collapse if Europe fails to provide the forces required for the alternative policy of graduated deterrence or measured retaliation.

The Continental members of NATO must therefore face, before it is too late, what the alternatives present for them. Exclusive reliance on the thermonuclear deterrent means that Europe would be both occupied by the Red Army and bombed by the SAC if war should come. And whether the deterrent succeeds in preventing war will depend on America's readiness to incur the destruction of her own cities in order to prevent marginal advances by the Red Army in territory more than 3,000 miles from New York.

If, on the other hand, Europe takes her fair share in the task of producing ground defenses along the frontier of the Soviet Empire, not only does war become infinitely less likely, but, should war come, there will be much more chance of ending it without either Communist occupation of Western Europe or the indiscriminate bombing of cities. Tactical atomic weapons for the first time offer Europe the possibility of effective ground defense without a crippling expenditure of military manpower. But they still demand a number of troops which no country can provide without conscription. And, unfortunately, the value of a conscripted soldier is in mathematical proportion to the amount of time he serves.



MALAYA: BRITISH TROOPS STILL NEEDED THERE



BOHN

THE HOME FRONT

By William E. Bohn

Atomic Power For Peace

WE HAVE come through a startling reversal in the course of a little more than ten years. In 1944 and 1945, I often used to meet tight-lipped young scientists hurrying to or from conferences. We knew that they were at work on something tremendous, but we knew not what it was. Naturally, like a lot of other people, I thought of splitting the atom. I even asked one of the bright boys whether that was it. He kept his look completely blank and said: "I can't tell you what it is, but I can say that we are working on something so terrible that we wish it had never been thought of."

That was eleven or twelve years ago. I have just returned from the first exhibition of atomic power techniques ever presented in America. It is the Atoms for Peace show sponsored by the Atomic Industrial Forum, the Fund for Peaceful Atomic Development and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. There I saw scores of exhibits showing how power from the atomic pile can be turned to useful purposes in medicine, agriculture, industry and research. And there were dozens of young scientists. But, far from being secretive as were their predecessors, these smiling young men seemed eager to instruct the uninformed public.

This show serves as a fine example of cooperation between Government and private industry. At its basis is the exhibit shown at Geneva last summer by the U.S. Atomic Energy Commission. But displays by 36 industrial organizations have been

added. In connection with the Brookhaven research exhibit, we are told that nuclear research requires unique machinery which is so costly that it cannot be provided by private institutions and industries. So in research the Government must take the lead. During the past few years, we have had a veritable hurricane of propaganda against Federal activities and Federal expenditures. But I have not heard of any big businessman or Republican leader who has protested against Government leadership in the field of nuclear development.

In between Government and private industry, there is evidence in this exhibition of extraordinary movements in the direction of cooperation. Brookhaven, for example, is managed by seven or eight of our greatest universities joined in an association. The scientific and industrial leaders in a country dedicated to individual enterprise have shown an extraordinary gift for pulling together when the size of the effort demanded it.

On the other hand, anyone who takes in the scope of the exhibition must come away with increased respect for American industrial leadership. Our great manufacturing concerns and power companies have been amazingly quick to see the possibilities involved in the development of nuclear power and have without hesitation invested the capital necessary to begin operations. All our bigger industrial enterprises have exhibits to show what they are doing—Westinghouse, Consolidated Edison, Allis-Chalmers and so on. And there

are industrial groups, too. The private industries, like the universities, have joined forces to tackle jobs which were too big for the resources of any one of them.

As a result of all of this activity, the business of getting power from the atom and applying it to serve all sorts of human needs has gone much further than I thought possible before I saw this show. You can, right now, buy all the equipment necessary to go on a prospecting tour in search of fissionable material. You can buy a big or little atom power plant. This plant will produce heat, the heat will produce steam, and with the steam you can do any sort of work that needs doing.

You will note that I am not trying to give you any scientific explanations. The patient young men in charge of the exhibits did their best to enlighten me, but in this field I am beyond help. However, I did get two things which seem to me worthwhile. I was given a sense of the mystery involved in all this development. I stood before a chamber devised in the University of California and saw the tiny slivers of electric fire produced by atomic particles and cosmic rays as they shot through us and through everything. The young man said to me: "Those cosmic rays have been going through you all your life, but this is the first time you were ever conscious of them."

While we were looking at this exhibition, the delegates across First Avenue in the UN Building were getting together on a plan for the cooperation of 60 nations in the development of peaceful uses of atom power. And yesterday's papers carried an item about an atomic power plant which is to be given to India by the United States. This thing is going ahead at breathtaking speed. The show gave me a crack over the head, roused me to a consciousness of what is going on. It is to be seen at the Carnegie Endowment Building across from the UN at the corner of East 46th Street and First Avenue until November 3.

*Left and Right parties merge to form
nation's largest opposition movement*

JAPAN ACHIEVES SOCIALIST UNITY

By Takeo Naoi

TOKYO
JAPANESE Socialist unity, long heralded, became a reality on the night of October 13. At a reunification rally of the two Socialist parties, the merger was officially proclaimed and Left Socialist Mosaburo Suzuki designated the new party's chairman, Right Socialist Inejiro Asanuma its secretary-general.

The Socialists are now the largest opposition party. In the lower house of Parliament, they have 155 seats; the Democrats of Premier Hatoyama have 185 and the Liberals of former Premier Yoshida have 117. In the upper house, the Socialists have 70 seats to the Liberals' 90 and the Democrats' 25. If, as has long been bruited, the Liberals and Democrats should merge in a united conservative party, Japan will have a genuine two-party system.

Can the Socialists come to power in the near future? If so, how would that affect Japan's ties with the United States, her relations with the Soviet Union and Red China? What about the new party's platform plank calling for "complete restoration of Japanese sovereignty and territories, nullification of the Japan-U. S. Security Pact and administrative agreement"? These questions are being heard from all quarters. In attempting to answer them, we must first explain how Socialist unity was achieved.

The Left and Right Socialists had split in October 1951 over the security treaty with the United States. The first move toward reunification

came three years later, when the new Hatoyama Government dissolved the Diet and scheduled a general election for last February. Though Left and Right failed to reach concrete election agreements, both campaigned under the slogan of a "united Socialist government" and pledged Socialist unity soon.

In the election, the Left Socialists emerged considerably stronger than the Right and thereupon began talking of absorbing, rather than merging with, the right-wingers. The Right naturally resisted, and so a unity committee was set up last spring to iron out differences.

The most difficult task of the unity committee was to write a new platform. The Left party held to Marxist principles of class struggle, while the Right subscribed to the principles of democratic socialism embodied in the program of the Socialist International. Heated discussions went on for four months, from May to August, in the course of which public opinion tended to back up the Right position, while powerful leftist union leaders vehemently supported the Left. They clashed on four main points:

1. *The character of the Socialist party.* The Left favored a "class party" based on the working class; the Right insisted on a "national party" embodying various elements of the population. In the end, the platform coined a new expression, "class party of the people."

2. *Paths to socialism.* The old Left Socialist platform envisaged a

political or economic crisis—brought about by war or depression—as the starting point which the Socialist party, with the help of a mass movement, would utilize to assume power. Basically, the Left called for a socialist revolution, to be brought about through class struggle; upon the success of the revolution, political authority would have to be "stabilized." Throughout these processes, parliamentary procedures were regarded as supplementary rather than fundamental.

Public opinion was decidedly against this stand and more favorable to the Rightists, who wished to achieve socialism through democracy. In the new platform, the Left retreated from its old position, though it did not abandon it completely. The Leftists agreed with the Rightists on a peaceful revolution through democracy, but managed to combine this with "national independence" as well as socialist revolution. The new platform retains this sentence, in which one can catch glimpses of Khrushchev as well as Lenin:

"The broad mass of working people, with the working class as the central core, carries inevitably the struggle for national independence, namely, socialist revolution."

3. *Japan's status.* To the Communists, Japan is a U. S. colony; to the Left Socialists, a U. S. dependent; to the Right Socialists, an incompletely independent state. The compromise platform plank reads:

"Japan is formally independent, but in fact she is controlled by the U. S.-Japanese Security Pact and a network of American military and other bases."

4. *Attitude toward Communism.* Both Left and Right Socialists wanted to draw a line between themselves and the Communists. Both sides opposed the Communist conception of a "dictatorship of the proletariat," and both opposed the activities of the Cominform. The platform's criticism of Communism stops at this point, however. While Communism is rejected along with imperialism

and fascism, it is not labeled a brand of totalitarianism or inhuman.

For reasons of space, I cannot provide a complete picture here of the new Socialist platform. In sum, it is a compromise of expressions rather than of principles; both Left and Right can interpret it to suit themselves. But public opinion generally is inclined to view it as a success for the Rightists; the common estimate is that it is tipped perhaps 70-80 per cent in their favor.

Before the reunification rally, both parties held final conferences to adopt the new platform. The Left Socialist conference was stormy indeed. Throughout the meeting, there was one revolt or attack after another against the new platform. A resolution was even introduced to postpone adoption of the platform until after the merger. Though this motion failed by 230 votes to 135, two motions were carried to qualify the original platform in the future. Still unsatisfied, the left wing of the Left party forced a resolution, on the very eve of the merger rally, to adhere to the "four principles of peace." The four principles are an "overall peace treaty" (including Soviet Russia and Red China), "neutralism in foreign policy," and opposition to rearmament and U. S. military bases.

The Right Socialist conference, on the other hand, strongly favored holding to the new platform without change, although some labor representatives wanted to criticize Communism more thoroughly.

In these circumstances, Left Socialist chairman Suzuki nearly lost control over his followers. The merger rally was originally slated to

meet at 10 A.M. on October 13; it did not open until 10:30 P.M. The 12-hour delay was caused by continued disagreement over personnel between the two parties, primarily due to the Left's stubborn insistence on its power over the new party.

When the merger negotiations began, many observers feared that the Right Socialists, because of their inferior position in the Diet, might succumb to the Left's pressure and yield their rather healthy position in favor of Leftist radicalism. If this happened, the new Socialist party might threaten not only the future of Japan but the cause of the free world. For this reason, many Right Socialists (including this correspondent) energetically resisted unconditional surrender to the Left position. In the past, irresponsible radicalism, embodied in the famous "four principles of peace," was the main current of the Left Socialist movement. Now, in the new united party, this trend has been pushed aside. Leftist radicalism is becoming a rebellious opposition to the main current of Japanese Socialism.

After the merger conference, I visited a veteran Right Socialist leader who had been a member of the coalition government after the war. I was accompanied by a foreign correspondent, who showered the host with the type of questions indicated at the beginning of this report and expressed misgivings about the future of the new party.

Our host was not disturbed. In his opinion, the Socialists would not assume power in the near future. In a year or two, they might obtain a plurality. But in that case lack of

experienced administrative personnel and unpreparedness in practical policy would prevent a prospective Socialist government from lasting very long. A Socialist majority in Japan is a long-range matter. By the time that comes about, the present Socialist party will have been much matured, sufficiently so to be realistic on both internal and international policies. Furthermore, the Japanese people have considerable common sense. They would not permit radical changes even if the Socialists tried to introduce them.

At this point, my correspondent friend interrupted: "But what about the new platform urging nullification of the pact with the U.S. and a non-aggression pact among Japan, the U. S., Russia and China?"

The veteran politician replied: "Don't bother too much about the things they say now." In his opinion, Japanese Socialists have long been under the sway of Marxism. They have been used to interpreting situations on the basis of Marxian concepts and then framing "policy" according to these interpretations, instead of approaching realities with an open mind. "This," said our host, "is impossible when the Socialists come to power. I believe the Socialist leaders will become more realistic and responsible in their policies in the future."

This opinion on the future of Japanese Socialism may sound too optimistic. It may also be premature to say that Left Socialism is becoming a fractional opposition within the new Socialist party. Nevertheless, there was notable change on the part of the Left Socialist leaders and their followers in the course of the merger process; had there been no such change, even the present platform would have been impossible. This change, encouraged by public opinion and pressed by the logic of politics, will continue to develop. Observers abroad should look at the future of the new Socialist party with patience, without worrying too much about what its leaders say now.

GUILTY

Molotov's admission that he erred on a point of Communist theory may mean he is in for serious trouble.—News item.

A slip of the tongue can cause terror
To a Commie, there is no denial.
With us, it is trial and error,
With them, it is error—and trial.

—Richard Armour

Hotheaded, unpredictable Chief Minister David Marshall admits he is 'fumbling along,' while Communists gain strength in the strategic Southeast Asian bastion

Singapore's Stormy Petrel

By Peter Schmid

SINGAPORE
AT 5 o'clock in the afternoon, the Chief Minister's bed was still unmade. The twenty-odd correspondents who crowded his bedchamber unceremoniously sat on it. On a night table, I noticed a bottle of Scandale perfume and a novel by Graham Greene. Otherwise, the room appeared empty and impersonal.

It seemed a bit incongruous that an official of a British Crown Colony should, like old Mossadegh, hold a press conference in his bedroom, but somehow it fitted perfectly into the picture of David Marshall, *enfant terrible* of Singapore. In fact, such lack of formality seems to be one of his guiding principles in the snobbish, rather fossilized atmosphere of this city. The President and Speaker of the Legislative Assembly still follow ancient British Parliamentary tradition and wear black robes and wigs, but the Chief Minister and most of his colleagues arrive in open-collared shirts without ties. Singapore's rebellion against the stiff British colonial tradition is therefore apparent at first glance.

David Marshall, a handsome bachelor of 46, has the profile of an eagle, a thinker's brow, and the wild, greying mane of an artist. He seems more at home on a stage than on a political platform; whenever he produces a particularly witty remark, he smiles and looks around as though to say: "Wasn't that well put?"

In elections last April 2, Marshall's Labor Front emerged as the

strongest party, to the surprise of everyone concerned. The pro-British Progressives, who would have moved toward self-government cautiously and slowly, were expected to win hands down. Indeed, they were so certain of their victory that they did not even bother to campaign. Why worry about a buffoon like David Marshall, who appeared at noon every day at a busy intersection, climbed on a soapbox, and made a flowery speech in the manner of Hyde Park? And why fear the People's Action party (PAP), which had been hopelessly compromised by its open sympathy with the Communist terrorists on the Malayan mainland? But, lo and behold, the Labor Front gained ten out of 25 seats in the Legislative Assembly, and the PAP won three. It suddenly became apparent that social and nationalist unrest had been brewing in the seemingly tranquil Crown Colony.

Marshall inherited his English name from his father, who came to Singapore from Iraq and was originally named Mashal. His family traces its ancestry to Spain, from which they were expelled four and a half centuries ago by Queen Isabella, together with thousands of other Sephardic Jews. But David Marshall, who attended schools with names like St. Joseph and St. Andrew, has been thoroughly anglicized. All he retains of his Near Eastern heritage is an explosive temper and an extreme sensitivity which makes him react violently to press criticisms.

As a young man, Marshall spent some time in a tuberculosis sanatorium in Switzerland. On his return

in 1930, the worldwide economic crisis forced him to start out rather modestly as an automobile salesman. When he applied for the job, he did not even have a driver's license. Within a week, however, he had not only passed his driving test but had sold a luxurious orange-and-green car with leopardskin upholstery to an Arab prince.

Marshall's forte, indeed, is his irresistible gift of gab. His facile rhetoric, combined with undeniable charm, fascinates the listener. Thus, it was only natural that in 1934, having grown tired of his business career, he decided to become a lawyer. At the age of 26, he went to the university in London and within 18 months had passed his exam. Back in Singapore, he soon became the city's leading trial lawyer.

Thus, when he stepped onto the soapbox during the election campaign, Marshall was no unknown. Yet, even his old friends laughed at him for ranting against the evils of colonialism, accusing the whites—he himself is of Arab-brown complexion—of looting the country, and promising to lead the common man to a paradise on earth. Many called him an opportunist who casually appropriated popular slogans without ever having experienced poverty or oppression himself.

Marshall makes no bones about the fact that the ideological foundations of his "Labor Front" are rather vague. Its improvised leadership was assembled so fast, and its victory was so sudden, that there was no time to work out a common political platform. Englishmen who have to deal

PETER SCHMID, a Swiss journalist and author, has written for Commentary.

with him despair at his unfathomable fantasies. One even confessed to me that he would rather see Lee Kuan Yew, the leader of the pro-Communist PAP, in office. At least, he argued, Yew is a realistic thinker and his political talent is far superior to that of the unpredictable, capricious Marshall.

David Marshall is not a Communist, but he is playing into their hands. One of his major electoral promises was to work toward lifting martial law in Malaya, which is highly unpopular since it subjects everyone, the innocent as well as the guilty, to countless inconveniences. But as soon as Marshall assumed his post and the extremists realized that he would not play rough with them, a series of bloody riots broke out in May and June when trade-union members and Chinese high-school students demonstrated in the streets. The slackness with which Marshall handled the threat gave the Communists a tremendous boost. Since the riots, large groups of workers have joined Communist organizations.

The same is true of the high schools, where Communist propaganda and threats continue unabashed. "It is up to the Government to take the necessary measures," one of the teachers complained to me. "Neither we nor the parents can do anything so long as agitators in the schools are allowed to threaten students and teachers alike. Believe me, the majority of students are not Communists, and, if the vicious pressure were removed, they would pursue their studies in peace."

The growing radicalization of the workers has already had serious results for Singapore's economic future. A high birth-rate and a steady influx from the mainland have rapidly increased the city's population. The only way to raise the standard of living, or even keep it at its present level, is industrialization. Yet, the recent strikes have not only discouraged foreign investors from carrying out existing plans for industrial expansion, but have made a number of

firms, among them Firestone, consider liquidating their Singapore operations.

Marshall, in his concern for the underprivileged, has copied a practice introduced by President Magsaysay of the Philippines which is poorly suited to conditions in Singapore. Every Saturday, his office is open to anyone with a grievance or complaint. In a country whose administration is riddled with corruption and where feudal bureaucrats tyrannize the population, this may be a very wholesome institution. Singapore, however, has always had an exemplary British Civil Service which does not tolerate the slightest hint of corruption. Its welfare office has long aided the poor, and hardly anywhere in Asia is there less misery and official abuse of the people. Those who flock to Marshall's office, therefore, are for the most part idlers who do not deserve aid or petty criminals who have quite properly felt the arm of the law. The Chief Minister, in an effort to increase his popularity, is often tempted to interfere with the well-oiled administrative machinery by acting on sentimental impulse rather than thorough study, and in so doing he may well pave the way for corruption rather than prevent it.

As a matter of fact, David Marshall is a typical political dilettante who is actually not too clear about what he is doing. When I asked him a few factual questions, he replied: "I am just fumbling along." But can a fumbler expect a colonial administration to let him have free rein without retaining at least veto power?

This, no doubt, was one of the issues behind the constitutional crisis that shook the Singapore Government in early August. Marshall had wanted to increase the number of Cabinet members from 10 to 14. The Governor, Sir John Black, took this as an effort to provide jobs for some of the Chief Minister's friends; he also took a dim view of the quality of the proposed appointments, especially since one of them had spent time in jail

for a common felony. Hence, Sir John limited his approval to two new ministers and thereby started a political tempest. Marshall branded his refusal to approve all four an example of "arrogant colonialism," and he threatened to resign. The storm continued in the Legislative Assembly, where a motion was passed almost unanimously by all parties, including the Communists, demanding immediate self-government for Singapore. Only the pleas of his colleagues and workers' demonstrations persuaded Marshall to postpone his resignation until the anticipated arrival of Sir Alan Lennox-Boyd, British Colonial Secretary.

Behind this outburst of temper lurked a real issue. It was the question of whether, in a critical spot like Singapore, a hotheaded politician could be allowed to accelerate to revolutionary speed the evolutionary development toward self-government. The debate in the Legislative Assembly showed that the Communists, who had been Marshall's arch enemies a few weeks earlier during the strikes, are quite willing to lend him a hand whenever they feel that his actions provide grist for their mills.

It may have been awareness of this danger which induced Lennox-Boyd and Marshall to reach a compromise on interpretation of the provisional constitution and the question of eventual self-government. At any rate, Marshall announced on August 15, without elaborating, that he had gotten "all he wanted." The Colonial Secretary, he said, had agreed to a conference between British and Singapore representatives in London in April 1956, when a date for the achievement of full self-rule would be fixed.

Whether Chief Minister Marshall will last till then is anybody's guess. At present, he no longer talks of resignation, and the Singapore Government seems headed for another stretch of stormy sailing, with the disconcerting Mr. Marshall at the helm and the Communists waiting on the rocks.



Behind the Violence at Perfect Circle

By Mitchel Levitas

NEW CASTLE, INDIANA
AN AGGRESSIVE union, an old-line, family-controlled corporation and an impulsive Governor have clashed here to provide a labor-relations spectacle uncommon north of the Mason-Dixon line.

Since July 25, Local 370 of the United Auto Workers (CIO) has been on strike against the Perfect Circle Corporation, manufacturer of one-quarter of all the piston rings used by American automobile producers. The walkout has been marked by mass picketing and violence, and, after at least eight persons were wounded by an outburst of gunplay on October 5, Republican Governor George N. Craig called out the National Guard and imposed full martial law, which ended only last week. It was the first time in modern Indiana history that the militia had been summoned to restore order in a labor dispute.

The move, however, also enabled the company to resume limited production at the New Castle foundry, key plant among three operated by the company in this area. This fact, coupled with the legal limitation of five pickets at the main gate to the foundry, is the cause of the extreme bitterness which has marked the union's feelings toward the state government.

As for the company, the UAW sees the walkout merely as the latest

strike in a series against a firm that is determined to oust it forever and at all costs. In the union's view, company opposition to the union shop is only a disguise to bar organized labor altogether.

Management maintains it is not anti-union, merely opposed to the "imposition" of a union upon loyal, long-time workers who do not wish to become part of the collective-bargaining unit. Aligning himself firmly in the camp of employers in 17 states who operate under state "right-to-work" laws, Perfect Circle general manager William B. Prosser declared:

"We feel that we are making a contribution to the right-to-work cause by the position we have taken in this strike. The [non-striking employees] are making a personal contribution to the crusade which will undoubtedly eventually result in the passage of laws establishing the right of an individual to work where he pleases without paying tribute to anyone."

One may describe the above attitude as conservative, proper, and highly sensitive to the "rights" of individual workers who are not union-minded. Possibly a more revealing indication of company thinking is posted on its official bulletin board, alongside the Prosser thesis. This is a typewritten article identified as a "fable" which speaks of "John L. Louiss and Walder Ruthless" and their activities in bankrupting a business through union activity. The article is evidently a copy of a docu-

ment distributed elsewhere. Informed of the "fable's" rather prominent location, plant manager Chet Juday told reporters that "it really shouldn't be there" and promised to remove it forthwith. At last report, it was still there.

Another example of the company's operation in the current strike was the mailing of three separate letters from the wives of nine company officials and supervisory personnel to the wives of 203 striking workers. The letters, for which the company admits supplying the mailing lists, also concentrated on the union-shop issue, calling it "tribute without representation," and compared the practice to life under Communism, an angle that management itself had shown restraint in avoiding.

Strikes, even violent strikes, are not new to Perfect Circle workers, nor are they a novelty to this city of 18,000 in which almost all the wage earners are union members. In 1937, a brief sitdown strike won recognition for the young UAW, then engaged in a series of stormy work stoppages throughout the Middle West. In 1945, the foundry was closed for eight weeks by mass picketing in a dispute over job reclassification in the postwar conversion. In 1948, the union struck over today's big issue, the union shop, but the workers went back to the plant after eight weeks without winning their objective.

In between the strikes, there have been no fewer than 10 representation elections, some called for by labor,

MITCHEL LEVITAS is a staff reporter for the New York Post who spent a week at the Perfect Circle plant.

others by management in an attempt to decertify the union. The town itself in recent years has experienced the 100-day Chrysler walkout in 1950 (4,000 are employed in a Chrysler parts factory here) and a four-month strike at the Ingersoll Steel and Disc Company, also in New Castle.

Thus, although labor disputes are old hat in these parts, there was some apprehension over the reaction that would greet 600 National Guardsmen when they marched in—Sherman tanks, bayonets and all—to enforce the Governor's proclamation of martial law.

There need have been no anxiety.

and so justified their presence as necessary. Dissenters, however, many of them union members in civilian life, expressed doubt that the same effect could not have been achieved without the large number of personnel, the almost wartime logistic support they received, and the formal declaration of martial law. That there was some element of truth in their observations was subsequently borne out when civilian rule was restored and the number of troops cut back to 150 without any renewal of violence.

During the troops' tenure, the life of the city was not noticeably dis-

National Guard. An already formidable backlog of cases mounted rapidly, and the judge is presumably now just beginning to make a new effort to lighten the groaning scales of justice.

Aside from this one incident, there is no doubt that the presence of the troops accomplished what the Governor had in mind.

The factory reopened. ("There is no law against an employer operating his plant if he can, and that right will be preserved by the military," Craig said.)

The violence ceased: For the first ten days of the strike, mass picketing forced the shutdown of the foundry. Then, despite a court order limiting the number of pickets to five, crowds again forced the plant to close from September 19 to 26. The main gate was padlocked by the strikers, and large pieces of concrete were dumped on the road leading to the three-story building. In addition, non-striking employees suffered telephoned death threats, overturned automobiles, paint-splattered homes and bricks thrown through windows during the outbreak.

The violence came to a riot-ridden climax on October 5 when more than 1,000 strikers and sympathizers marched down to the foundry, forcing local police to retreat before them. As a group from the crowd moved through a side gate, shotguns and rifles cracked from within the plant. The fire was returned by the strikers and a battle ensued, lasting some two hours.

It was at this point that troops were hastily called up and martial law declared a few days later. Bowing before superior firepower, the union retreated to the point where today it observes the mere formalities of a strike. The five pickets do not even carry their single sign, but leave it nailed to a tree near the plant's parking lot, while they pass the time of day in conversation around a pot-bellied stove salvaged from a building burned in the riot.

In recent days, some attempts at



NATIONAL GUARDSMEN AT PERFECT CIRCLE: 'MILITARY BABY-SITTING'

The guards, whose average age is 22, were viewed by the citizenry with mixed feelings of relief, resentment, and simple acceptance that they were here "on orders" and merely to do a job. However military the guardsmen appeared, patrolling in jeeps and on foot in two-man teams, it was not an uncommon sight to see sympathetic housewives in residential areas offer the boys some cake and coffee during the brisk evening rounds.

The troops themselves viewed their duty as the prevention of violence

turbed, except for tavern owners who could count their profits at the soda fountains. Although bars were closed, movies, schools, church meetings and other activities proceeded as usual. No curfew was imposed. Generally, it was, as one reporter termed it, "military baby-sitting."

About the only confusion occurred when the circuit judge of the county decided he did not have the power to sit in a civil court and render binding decisions while the town was formally under the rule of the

serious negotiations with Federal mediators have been made, but thus far the talks have not been too successful. A face-to-face meeting between the union and the company has not yet been held. Whatever the outcome of the dispute, however—and there is little belief that the walkout will develop into another

Kohler stalemate—the high ideals enunciated for the firm in 1935 by the then company president, Charles Teetor, can be recalled only with the grimmest irony. In a credo for “present and future” boards of directors, Teetor wrote:

“May no chair in this room ever be occupied by anyone who holds a

thought of . . . hatred, malice, revenge, dishonesty, selfishness, greed, contempt, jealousy, or any other form of thought that will be to the detriment of the company . . . any employe or group of employes, against neighbors, townsmen or competitors.”

That was just twenty years ago.

Interview With an Iron Miner

By Sam Romer

ELY, MINNESOTA

TOIVO HILL has been an iron-ore miner since 1917, when he left high school to hire out as a mucker. Now he and his partner, Albert Morlot, are a “contract team” in the underground mines here. They loosen the ore by dynamite blasting and machine-load it on the waiting cars.

One day in October, both of them descended to a 1,300-foot level below the surface and found their way to a work-space where the lode was rich and heavy. But they worked a little slower than usual; they jumped nervously when they heard loose mud scatter like mice above the space ceiling. A week before, the two men had waged a 20-hour battle with death at the very same spot.

Mine accidents are no novelty to Toivo, a tall, heavy-set man whose gray fringe around his baldness testifies to 55 years and a hard life. His father was an iron miner from the time he left his native Finland. Once the elder Hill was brought home with both legs broken as the result of a fall down an open shaft. The old man still worked in the mines at the age of 64, when he died of a heart attack while on the job.

Toivo himself once fell 35 feet down an open hole; another time, a premature dynamite blast barely missed him. But miners rarely let their daily gamble with death show on the surface. On the fateful day of his 20-hour ordeal, Toivo was think-

ing about the state CIO convention to which he had been elected as a United Steelworkers delegate.

Working at an ore-breast in an underground mine is a pretty lonely job. Each team works silently at its task, seemingly unaware that another pair of miners is around the bend. It was about 1:30 A.M. when, without warning, there was a hissing sound and a flood of mud in the mine wall suddenly rushed at them, threatening to drown them in muck.

“I turned to my partner,” Toivo related afterward, “and said: ‘This is it, I guess.’ The mud didn’t need more than an inch break in the wall to begin. As it came toward us, it widened the hole every second.” Fortunately, the mud ceased its onrush as it reached the feet of the frightened men. But all exits were cut off. The air, never fresh so far below the surface, grew more and more fetid.

“I guess we talked about most everything,” Hill said. “We talked about our families and wondered who would break the news. We knew that there were two other teams in the area and hoped they had escaped. Mostly we talked about small things—nothing important.”

The two men passed some time in silent prayer. The morning hours passed slowly when—almost six hours after the mud-spill—a pipe forced its way through to their refuge. “It sure was a welcome sight,” Toivo said. “Until we heard

the pipe breaking through, carrying fresh air—why, we didn’t know if the rescue teams could even find us.”

It was only after they were sure rescue was on its way that the two men decided to share their only food: a peach and a chocolate bar which Morlot had salvaged from his jacket. They were pretty sure they were safe, even though freedom did not come until 14 long hours after. “You should have seen the boys dig to get us out,” Toivo said. “I sure hope the company doesn’t decide to use their efforts as a work standard.”

Toivo told reporters when he got out that he would never go back into the mines. But, a week later, he again made the descent because, he explained, “I’ve still got to make a living.” For his work, Toivo averages \$21 to \$22 a day.

Toivo is fatalistic about mud-spills. Mine-safety experts have failed to work out any foolproof way to avoid them. Toivo himself offered some safety suggestions as a CIO grievance committeeman; they were tried out without success. But Toivo has resigned himself to working until retirement, now nine years off. “And if they drop the pension age to 60,” he says, “I’ll retire then. And let me tell you this, when I retire no one’ll ever get me down into the pit again.”

Toivo also is sure about another thing: His two sons will not be miners.

PEACEFUL COMPETITION OFFERS OPPORTUNITIES

Geneva spirit does not doom anti-Communist cause

By Michael Karpovich

AT GENEVA last summer, the major world problems not only remained unsolved, but were not even posed. This was as expected. The West conceived the "summit" conference as a preliminary effort—an attempt to establish contact for further negotiations, which the West understood would consume considerable time.

It was also expected that both sides would exploit the conference for propaganda, but this did not materialize. The Soviet delegation showed especially surprising restraint. Though Bulganin did open with a statement of Moscow's general aims, this was simply a repetition of old, old statements, presented with little or no embellishment. The Soviets did not raise at Geneva the ideas of a neutralized Germany and a "neutral belt" in Central Europe which they had assiduously propagated before the conference. Perhaps they were reluctant to give the West an opportunity to discuss Eastern Europe. Perhaps they concluded that their best course was to insist on maintaining the *status quo*. In any case, they largely confined themselves to the propaganda of smiles and gestures.

The Western delegations at Geneva likewise failed to develop a broad program for genuine worldwide conciliation. The only dramatic Western move was President Eisenhower's air-inspection proposal, which, whatever one may think of its practical merits, unquestionably made a strong impression as a proof of U.S. good will. It seems to have largely dissipated the notion of American "militarism" which was still held in various European countries, and it also seems to have produced some temporary confusion in the Soviet delegation.

Thus, the real test of the "new spirit" in international politics lies ahead. The Foreign Ministers Conference which starts this week may well be decisive. There it will be hard to avoid fundamental, very concrete problems. The difficulties which the Western diplomats face at this conference should be obvious. Thus far, the Communists have given no indication that they are ready to make serious concessions. It took the Chinese an entire month of negotiations to agree to release the U.S. citizens they had detained; more serious Sino-American questions have hardly been approached; Chancellor Adenauer's trip to Moscow also evoked Soviet intransigence on basic

Michael Karpovich is the author of the classic, *Imperial Russia 1801-1917*, and has been a professor of history at Harvard University for more than two decades. An associate editor of the English-language *Russian Review*, he is also the editor of the Russian-language quarterly *Novy Zhurnal*. Dr. Karpovich edited and completed the late Paul Miliukov's monumental *History of Russian Culture* and is the author (with W. Bowden and A. P. Usher) of *An Economic History of Europe Since 1750*.

issues. Nor can we tell how far Malik will go in his relative willingness to make concessions in the UN discussions on disarmament.

Do these setbacks and difficulties mean that the summit conference was useless, perhaps harmful? That is, indeed, the view of many critics, who argue that Geneva weakened the will to resist Communism both in the West and among the peoples under Soviet rule.

In the West, these critics say, Geneva stimulated all sorts of illusions about the possibility of "peaceful co-existence" with the Soviet regime. Yet it was not the summit conference which led to an intensification of the yearning for peace; rather it was the universal intensification of the desire for peace which brought about the conference. The human yearning for peace is perfectly legitimate, healthy and natural. Except in periodic paroxysms of nationalist fever (usually produced by propaganda), no people ever wants war. Abstract attacks on "pacifism" cannot eradicate this fact. In our era, when, in Eisenhower's remarkable phrase, "there is no alternative to peace" (except universal destruction as a result of atomic war, which is no alternative at all), the yearning for peace becomes a thousand times more powerful—and more justified. No government conscious of its responsibility can oppose this desire. It can try to keep it within realistic bounds, but this cannot be done by flatly denying the very possibility of peaceful solutions. It can only be done by persistent and realistic efforts to find such peaceful solutions. To be sure, the intensified yearning for peace may lead to the rise of illusions, to an underestimation of our difficulties, to a weakening of vigilance. Such unintelligent, unrealistic pseudo-pacifism must be combated. But the only way to combat it is to make patient, intelligent, realistic efforts toward

genuine peaceful solutions. However difficult this method of learning may be, peoples learn only from experience, by trial and error.

As for the pernicious influence which Geneva may have exercised on the peoples under Communist rule, it is hard to conceive that the yearning for peace is any weaker among those peoples, who have hardly recovered from the catastrophic war of only a decade ago, than in the West. On the contrary, fear of a new war is probably stronger in these nations, simply because they suffered so much more in the last one. To maintain that attempts to reach peaceful agreement can only disillusion East Europeans is an extremely dubious argument. However great their hostility to the Communist regime, one can scarcely imagine that they are ready to purchase their freedom from it at the price of thermonuclear war. Thus there is no reason to question the correspondents' reports which described how the population of Moscow followed the course of the Geneva Conference with great and sympathetic interest; such feelings doubtless were current in the satellite countries, too:

True, these feelings may include an element of illusion, just as they do in the Western countries. But if that is the case, then the Soviet Government and its East European satraps must cope with the very same difficulties and dangers which beset Western governments. They, too, must (though to a lesser extent) take into account the popular feelings evoked by the "new course" in their international policy. Till now, a favorite Soviet propaganda weapon has been the idea of hostile foreign encirclement, of an aggressive West ready at any moment to trigger a global atomic war. This "external threat" also served as the chief Soviet justification for further exertions and sacrifices by the people, and for various harsh Government measures. So long as the "new course" remains officially in effect, this weapon can no longer be

employed to the extent it was previously. And this means that, to some extent, the tendency toward psychological disarmament is now present throughout the Soviet Empire.

Related to this are the inevitable psychological consequences of Soviet contact with the West, which has now opened up on a most modest scale. It is easy to dismiss such "cultural exchanges" as mere Soviet propaganda tricks, designed to hoodwink naive foreigners—easy, but unconvincing. The point is not the intentions of the Soviet Government, but rather what effect even this slight raising of the Iron Curtain may have within the Soviet Empire. We have many accurate reports on how Russia's collaboration and contact with the West during World War II stimulated "pro-Western" sentiment in the Soviet Union; the tremendous propaganda efforts the Soviet regime made after the war to uproot this sentiment are a matter of public record.

Today, the "new course" forces the Soviet Government to use tactics which, whatever their intent, tend to awaken interest and sympathy for the West in the population under its control. The penetration into the Soviet sphere of even a feeble current of Western air may more than make up for the superficial, premature conclusions of naive foreign tourists about "the real situation in Russia." Nor are all the tourists going to Russia so naive.

Raising of the Iron Curtain is important not only for the Soviet people but for the West. Any increased opportunity to obtain information, however limited, must be regarded as a gain. It is sometimes alleged that no foreign observer can ever, because of Soviet conditions, obtain genuine, unfalsified information in Russia. But not even the mightiest, shrewdest dictatorship can sweep the entire actual life of a vast country under the rug of a gigantic "Potemkin village" specially constructed for foreign visitors. Some things simply cannot be hidden—at



SOVIET FARM DELEGATE AND IOWA WIVES: 'THE MORE, THE BETTER'

least not from serious, perceptive observers, who have the requisite background and a sufficiently developed capacity for critical analysis, who know how to distinguish between the actual life of the people and the official façade. To assert that such observers do not exist in the Western world is absurd. Any reduction, however slight, of the obstacles in their path increases the value of the information they gather.

In the 1920s and early 1930s, when Russia was open to foreigners to a much greater degree than today, this contact resulted not only in pro-Soviet and fellow-traveling literature, but in a plethora of serious, detailed critiques, which played an important role in acquainting Western public opinion with the real nature of Soviet Russia. The same was true after World War II, during which a limited number of Allied officials and journalists received a far greater opportunity for observation of Russian life than in the immediate prewar years or during the subsequent cold war. A rather impressive number of American books were based on this experience, books which were highly informative. Insofar as the "new course" may open up such opportunities, it would be a great political error to ignore their importance.

It is just as mistaken, in my opinion, to ignore the possible advantages of visits to Western countries by Soviet scientists, writers, artists or even collective-farm officials. Those who oppose such cultural contacts maintain that they hurt the cause of fighting the Communist regime. But their arguments are one-sided. Of course, visitors from Russia have a completely different status from the Western scientists, writers, artists and farmers who may go to Russia; to reiterate again that Soviet "cultural emissaries" travel to the West on Government orders and that their statements in the West are subject to Government control is to labor an obvious point. Establishing this fact does not in any sense exhaust the question. No matter how carefully these emissaries are chosen, no matter how great their fear of the Soviet regime may be, the possibility—indeed, the probability—is that they will carry back to Russia with them ideas and feelings about the West which they never had before. And these ideas will by no means suit the aims of the Soviet Government. The more there are of such cases, the better it is for the cause of fighting the Communist ideology.

What influence will "cultural contact" exercise on people in the West? True, it does entail the risk of strengthening politically harmful illusions, to the same degree that this is also true of the general yearning for peace. But, in the first place, the extent of this risk should not be exaggerated: The degree to which popular sentiment is antagonistic or conciliatory toward the Soviet regime depends far more on Soviet political actions and on international events than on any propaganda effects of "cultural contact." Secondly, and this is more important, such contact, insofar as it does influence Western thinking, does *not* necessarily provide only grist for

the Soviet mill. Quite apart from the rather fantastic notion that any success of Soviet science, literature or art abroad strengthens Communist political prestige at home, personal contact may be far more effective than historical and political disquisitions in combating the tendency, widespread in the West, to think of Russia and the Russian people only in terms of Communism and the Soviet regime.

The same considerations apply to the other side in this scarcely-begun "cultural exchange." Contact with the American farmers who visited Russia, however restricted, probably had an equally positive effect on the thinking of those Russians who were able to meet them. This direct impression of live Americans necessarily clashed with, and in part dispelled, the propaganda-created idea of an "American aggressor" hostile to the Russian people.

Of course, the danger remains that the new international climate, if it lasts for any length of time, may make it easier than it was in the past decade for excessive optimism and harmful illusions to gain ground. But that does not mean that the struggle against these illusions is hopeless. One detects in the statements of some critics of the "Geneva spirit" an almost panicky, essentially defeatist temper; one might think that the cause of fighting Communism had come to an end. That cause would really be doomed if it could expect success only in times of international and domestic crisis, in an atmosphere of war alarm and world instability. For no healthy, effective policy can ever be based on the principle of "the worse things are, the better." And any policy pursuing aims which cannot be attained in the short run must be sufficiently flexible to adapt itself to changing circumstances.

In the new situation, the battle against illusions will, then, be more difficult. Quite probably the Western governments, in the attempt to reach peaceful agreement with the Soviet Union, will curtail the volume and moderate the tone of their anti-Soviet propaganda. However, what under certain circumstances is impossible for official diplomacy is still possible for the organs of public opinion in the free countries. It will be up to them to combat harmful illusions, deliberate or inadvertent misinformation, and distorted political interpretations.

Such essentially educational work, may I repeat, cannot succeed if it is negative in character. It will be futile to base it on slogans like "No conferences with Soviet representatives!"; "No attempts to reach peaceful agreements with the Soviet regime!"; "No cultural exchange with countries under Communist rule!" Not only is this line psychologically unrealistic; it simply does not conform to the objective state of affairs. We cannot close our eyes to the changes taking place in the world; and it would be most unusual indeed if, at a time when the entire world was in flux, only in the Soviet Union did everything remain immutable.

NEW TECHNIQUES OF COMMUNIST DISRUPTION

By Allen Welsh Dulles
Director, U.S. Central Intelligence Agency

THE SOVIETS keep as a closely guarded secret the number of their own citizens and of foreign indigenous agents who are trained in the USSR, in China and in the satellites for subversion and espionage. Certainly there are many tens of thousands. As the students graduate, they flow into the Communist apparatus throughout the world.

Some high members of the MVD have revolted against the methods they have been taught to practice and have come over voluntarily—"defected"—to the free world. They have told us much. Some of this has been published to the world; the Petrov case in Australia is a good example of this. In other cases, for security reasons, it has seemed wiser to hold back on publicity to help us delve more deeply into the Communist organization and practices.

We estimate that the Soviet Union's expenditures in training, support and operation of its overall subversive mechanism may approach 10 per cent of its expenditures on its overall armament program. If we spent a comparable percentage of our defense budget for defense against these activities, we would be allocating to this work some three to four billion dollars annually.

While I am on the subject of Communist techniques, I might mention a somewhat recent development in their program of sowing international discord—one that will look quite attractive to many countries which are under pressure to build up their military establishments.

This article is adapted from a recent speech to the International Association of Chiefs of Police.

The Soviets emerged from World War II with a substantial stockpile of obsolescent and now fairly obsolete military equipment. This included, in addition to small arms, a good many thousands of medium and heavy tanks. Immediately following the war's end, the Soviets developed a whole new series of tank and aircraft types, including, in aircraft, the MIG-15 fighter plane, the TU-4 (B-29 type) long-range piston bomber; and, more recently, the IL-28 light jet bomber.

It is now estimated that the Soviets have many thousands of these types of war equipment; some becoming obsolete, some surplus. All are likely to be replaced over the next few years. New tanks are in mass production, and new long- and medium-range bombers are coming off the assembly line. For example, the replacement of obsolescent MIG-15s with newer models has created a reserve of some four to six thousand MIG-15s, of which a very substantial number could be unloaded as an adjunct to a general program of causing trouble throughout the world.

Of course, a good share of this equipment has already gone to Communist China and to Indo-China, with results which are now clearly seen. There remains ample for other parts of the world, and we now hear of advanced negotiations with several countries of the Middle East. I would not be at all surprised if we soon heard that countries in this hemisphere were being approached.

A premature start with this program was made over a year ago. You will remember that it was a shipload of obsolete arms sent by Czechoslovakia to Guatemala which aroused



DULLES: DO SHRIMPS GURGLE?

the Guatemalan people to realization of the Communist plans for a takeover of that country. Once again, Czechoslovakia looms up as the front for the delivery of Communist arms—this time in the Middle East.

A few days ago, Nikita Khrushchev, head of the Soviet Communist party, made some interesting statements. He remarked that, if anyone believes that Soviet smiles involve abandonment of the teachings of Marx, Engels and Lenin, he deceives himself. Those who wait for that, he said, must wait until a shrimp learns to whistle.

There is some debate as to whether the word should be shrimp or crayfish, for there is an old Russian proverb that says: "I will do it when the crayfish whistles on the mountain top." This, of course, is a Russian way of saying "never"—though I have it on good authority that in the deep reaches of the sea the crayfish and shrimp do make some gurgling noises.

There is no hard evidence as yet that the dangers we face from the underground subversive activities of Communism have ceased. Let us hope they do. Let us hope that Khrushchev hears the shrill call of the shrimp. Meanwhile, we in the free countries cannot afford to relax our vigilance.

An experienced observer notes many changes — for the worse — in the last two years

THE 'NEW' YUGOSLAVIA: FACADE AND REALITY

By Bogdan Raditsa

ALL TOO many American observers of Tito's Yugoslavia seem stubbornly determined to see the official façade rather than the living reality in appraising that country's present course. They insist, in defiance of clear evidence, that Yugoslavia is rapidly evolving from a Communist dictatorship into something reasonably akin to a democratic state, and that nothing whatever has changed in Soviet-Yugoslav relations since Bulganin and Khrushchev visited Belgrade.

If ability to deceive American journalists and statesmen is a valid criterion, then Tito is surely the most capable totalitarian ruler of our time. When Tito refuses to join NATO, his statement is interpreted in Washington as benefiting the free world rather than the Kremlin. When he virtually wrecks the Balkan Pact by refusing to transform it into a military alliance, that too is mysteriously construed as a rebuff to Moscow. This policy of self-deception in an effort to keep Yugoslavia on our side at any price will inevitably defeat its own purpose. For by now Tito must be convinced that, regardless of what he does, he can always count on Western backing, both diplomatic and economic.

Recently, the Swiss newspaper *Neue Zürcher Zeitung*, one of Europe's most distinguished journals, published an article which should prove useful in counteracting Western wishful thinking about Yugoslavia. It is written by Victor Meier,

a correspondent with intimate knowledge of Yugoslavia who visited the country during the past summer. Here are some of his comments on various aspects of life under Tito:

• *Treatment of foreigners:* "The declining threat from the East has been paralleled by declining tolerance toward Western residents in Yugoslavia; as a result of the incipient normalization of relations with the Soviet Union, the attitude has grown into one of open unfriendliness. Too long for inclusion here is the list of expulsions, arbitrary arrests, intimidations and similar actions that have occurred in the past few months, frequently involving harmless tourists. One might cite as a typical example the attempt made to raise the rents of foreigners residing in Belgrade to 10 or 20 times those charged to Yugoslavs and to make life generally as difficult as possible for them in an economic way."

• *Contact with the Western world:* "The lack of contact with foreign countries gives them [Yugoslav youth] a feeling of acute frustration. Striking in this connection is the

rising number of desertions of young Yugoslavs in foreign countries [for whom, one might add, the West has done absolutely nothing]. . . . For a long time, the Yugoslav Communists placed great hope in the youth of the country. Through generous scholarships and similar privileges, they sought in particular to win the young intellectuals. Today, they must recognize that the younger generation has become every bit as skeptical as other groups. At the end of long years of study, the young intellectuals see nothing ahead but a precarious living."

• *Economic conditions:* "This aggravation [high living costs] is most acutely felt by the population in regard to food, for which the Yugoslav must still pay out between 60 and 70 per cent of his income. The average wage level has remained unchanged at between 8,500 and 9,000 dinars per month. Prices of textiles and other consumer's goods have risen slightly, or at any rate have not dropped. A Yugoslav must still spend the sum of 30,000 to 35,000 dinars for an ordinary suit, and the price of a gift parcel containing the legally authorized 3 kilos [6.6 pounds] of coffee and two pairs of nylons is still equal to a whole month's wages."

• *Political democracy:* "Political conditions . . . have deteriorated considerably in Yugoslavia in the past few months. . . . They show the narrowness of the base on which rest the Belgrade rulers' aspirations to play

Earlier this month, we printed two encouraging articles on Yugoslavia by Paul Willen, who had just visited there. Here Bogdan Raditsa cites other information to indicate a different prognosis. Mr. Raditsa, Professor of Modern European History at Fairleigh Dickinson College, was formerly Tito's foreign press chief.

a role in world politics. . . . The organization of the Yugoslav Communists even today has the character of a political conspiracy which, having seized power in a revolutionary civil war, must defend itself daily against a hostile majority by means of intimidation and terror. . . .

"The practical operation of the [electoral] law . . . shows that a really democratic order does not exist. The nomination of candidates takes place by means of 'public voters' assemblies' which allow the Communist organizers complete control and protect them against the dangers of secret elections. The law, to be sure, also provides for nomination of candidates by written ballots; but, when this method was used in some places in the last elections to the *Skupština*, the Communist press at once and with great vehemence turned upon the 'criminal attempts of some elements' to 'misuse' the electoral law for their 'sinister machinations.' "

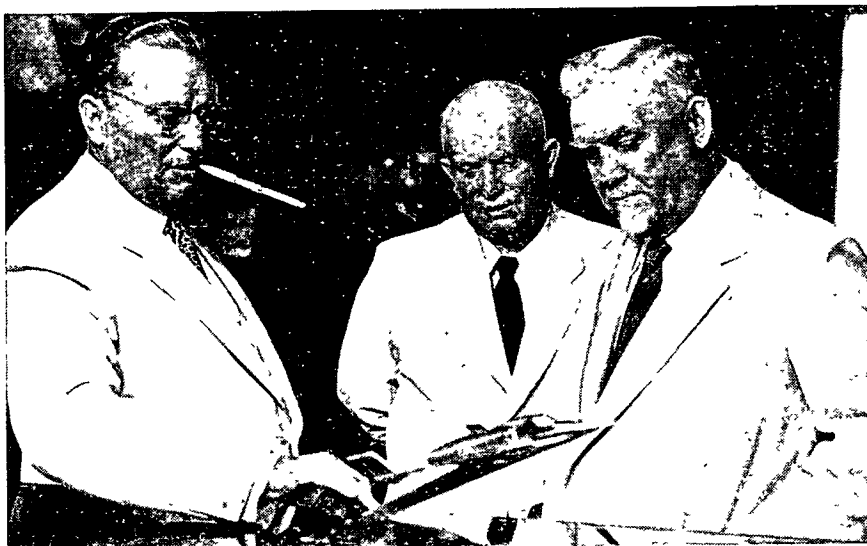
• *Conditions within the Communist party:* "[There is a] growing antagonism between the Party leaders and the rank-and-file. The intellectuals among the Communists feel increasingly repelled by the recently tightened intellectual controls. . . . Between 1952 and 1954, the [Party] membership dropped from 770,000 to 700,000 as a result of expulsions, and, according to the latest information, it now amounts to little more than 600,000. . . . The Communist party of Yugoslavia will soon consist only of career-hungry functionaries and UDB [secret police] people."

One observer who steadfastly denies that the Yugoslavs are drawing closer to Moscow is Paul Willen, whose two articles appeared in *THE NEW LEADER* of October 10 and 17. Among those whom Mr. Willen cited in support of his contention was Vladimir Bakaric, who recently led a Yugoslav parliamentary delegation to the USSR. However, he failed to quote a vital part of the Yugoslav Home Service report on Bakaric's trip. This omitted portion declared

that Bakaric "approved [Bulganin's speech to the Supreme Soviet] in the following words: 'We were satisfied . . . that Bulganin's words completely corresponded to the policy which has been and is being conducted by Yugoslavia.' Comrade Bakaric then said that, according to our sincere belief, relations will not return to the old but will be built on a new basis, for thus they can become better than they ever were."

There have been many indications in recent months that Comrade Bakaric's forecast is being borne out. The Bulganin-Khrushchev visit has been followed by many others, including

vides for a Russian credit of \$54 million to purchase Iron Curtain raw materials and a \$30-million gold loan for purposes which are still unclear. Under this agreement, Yugoslavia's trade with the Soviet bloc should approximate \$40 million this year and rise to \$75 million in 1956, so that within two years Russia will completely dominate Yugoslav foreign trade. A fund has also been created to finance the exchange of technical information, equipment and personnel, which means that any future Western projects in Yugoslavia will operate with Moscow's full knowledge.



TITO, KHRUSHCHEV AND BULGANIN: GOLD AND AN ATOMIC REACTOR

that of Soviet First Deputy Premier Anastas Mikoyan, who took his family to the Dalmatian Riviera and was Tito's guest on the island of Brioni. Moreover, not only Soviet leaders but Chinese Communists and Czechoslovak trade-union delegations and even police officials visited Yugoslavia last summer.

One also wonders how Yugoslavia is to maintain her vaunted "sovereignty" now that, according to Yugoslav press reports, Tito has agreed to accept the Soviet offer of an atomic reactor, a cyclotron and other equipment and material, including uranium. A new Soviet-Yugoslav trade agreement, which has been drawn up though not yet signed, pro-

It should be clear by now that the issue is not whether Yugoslavia returns to her pre-1948 position in the Soviet bloc. In fact, it is most unlikely that Moscow even regards such a move as desirable. Tito is far more valuable today as the leader of a "sovereign" nation which supports the chief aims of Soviet foreign policy than he would be as a cringing flunky. And there are indications that the Kremlin would like to achieve a similar pseudo-independent status for its Eastern European satellites, so that they can achieve greater legitimacy in foreign eyes and perpetrate the same hoax that Tito has on the free nations of the world.



CHAMBERLIN

WHERE the NEWS ENDS

By William Henry Chamberlin

Communist Bluff and Blackmail

LENIN's familiar commandment—"It is necessary to use any ruse, cunning, unlawful method, evasion, concealment of truth"—is being faithfully put into practice by Stalin's heirs. Quite recently, Moscow and Peking have made two attempts to use the plight of prisoners as a means of extorting a political advantage.

Bulganin and Khrushchev cold-bloodedly insisted that German prisoners, who had been kept for ten years, would be released only if the Federal Republic consented to resume full diplomatic relations; and this seems to have been the decisive weapon in overcoming Adenauer's misgivings and breaking down his resistance. No one should underestimate the disappointment which would have been felt in many German homes if the Chancellor had returned from Moscow without obtaining some satisfaction on the question of the prisoners.

Yet, yielding to blackmail is a dangerous precedent. Suppose the Soviet rulers are still holding back some German prisoners and offer to release another 5,000 or 10,000 in return for some other German concession, such as the stopping of anti-Communist broadcasts. It is hard to say where this process would end.

This same technique—using human beings unjustly imprisoned as a lever for the extraction of political concessions—has been very much in evidence during the prolonged negotiations in Geneva between the American Ambassador to Czechoslovakia, U. Alexis Johnson, and the Red Chinese representative in Poland. When

the discussions began early in August, there were over 40 American citizens held in Red China.

This number has now been reduced to 19; but recent Peking broadcasts intimate that these 19 are being treated as hostages, their release being made dependent on the opening of general political discussions between the United States and Red China at a higher diplomatic level. Mr. Johnson, an able career diplomat of considerable Far Eastern experience, seems to have been doing a good job within the limitations of his instructions. But these instructions should be crystal clear on the point that this government will not engage in discussion with the Peking regime on any subject until every American citizen who wishes to leave China is safely over the border.

This is mere reciprocity. The restrictions on a limited number of Chinese students in this country who were refused permission to go to Red China (because of special technical knowledge acquired in American universities) have long been removed. Any Chinese misguided enough to want to return to the horrible tyranny which has gripped his homeland is now free to do so. We should insist that corresponding freedom be given to all Americans in China before negotiations on the renunciation of force against Formosa or any other subject are taken up.

Bluff as well as blackmail is a striking element in Soviet diplomacy. This bluff takes the form of trying to make a noteworthy "contribution to relaxation of international tension" out of ceasing to do something which should

never have been done in the first place. So the Soviet Government tries to extract credit from finally consenting to an Austrian treaty. Yet, the treaty could have been signed years ago had it not been for Soviet refusal to release prisoners who should have been freed at the end of the war or who should never have been arrested in the first place.

There has been much ballyhoo in Moscow about an announced reduction of 640,000 men in a standing army whose exact size has never been revealed, but which is known to be the largest in the world. This cut followed, it did not precede, a cut of similar absolute and greater relative size in U.S. forces.

Marshal Zhukov and other Soviet leaders also struck a virtuous pose over the relinquishment of the Soviet base at Porkkala, outside Helsinki, in Finland. Soviet leaders were quick to suggest that the United States should go and do likewise and abandon the overseas bases which, as NATO chief Alfred M. Gruenther recently told me in Paris, represent our best defense against a sneak atomic Pearl Harbor. The joker here is that the Porkkala base, like other territorial annexations at Finland's expense, was seized by force. The American overseas bases in Great Britain, France, Germany, North Africa, Japan and elsewhere were set up with the agreement of the governments concerned.

It is quite in keeping with Communist philosophy that methods of blackmail and bluff should figure prominently in Soviet foreign policy. But there is no reason for us to allow Moscow to get away with this sort of thing. Ability to spot and parry such tactics, which are almost certain to be employed in the second round at Geneva, will be an important factor in determining whether the United States can spark a rally against the crumbling which is visible in some sectors of the Western front since the effusive interchange of cordiality at the "summit" conference last July.

Our Most Influential Philosopher

John Dewey: His Contribution to the American Tradition.
By Irwin Edman.
Bobbs-Merrill. 322 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by Charles Frankel

*Philosophy Department Columbia University editor,
The Uses of Philosophy An Irwin Edman Reader*

THIS felicitously edited anthology succeeds in making John Dewey's ideas clearer than he himself usually succeeded in making them. On the basis of a clear and definite picture of the central impulses and intentions in Dewey's thought, Professor Edman has organized Dewey's ideas—his conception of philosophy, his approach to logic, his ideas on the relation of reason to experience and theory to practice, and his interpretation of freedom—around two central themes, education and democracy. The result is to suggest Dewey's place in the American tradition, to bring out the special character of his contribution to it, and to place his ideas in the context in which they are most intelligible. And Professor Edman's introductory essay, which is the last bit of philosophical writing that came from his pen before his untimely death, is, as we might expect, a model of lucidity and discernment. With the exception of Sidney Hook's book on Dewey, I know of no volume which offers a quicker and surer path to the heart of Dewey's philosophy.

John Dewey, by common consent, is the most influential philosopher America has produced. The appearance of this book gives us a chance to reappraise his influence and to understand some of its whys and wherefores.

Dewey's philosophy has gone into a mild eclipse since the war. Devotees of the irrationalist philosophies that are in the public eye have made him a major target of their criticisms. But even philosophers whose basic attitudes and philosophic purpose are close to Dewey's have been stressing

the defects in his thinking. As Professor Edman observes, he did not write well. But the difficulties which both laymen and professional philosophers have had in understanding him—not to mention the ease with which it has been possible to misunderstand him—have not been due only to his literary style or lack of style.

There is also a systematic vagueness in Dewey's thought. He wrote on psychology, but had very little to say about major psychological theories such as Freud's; he wrote on logic, but either largely ignored, or was suspicious of, the revolutionary achievements in contemporary mathematical logic. His view of science, for all the light it throws on the origins and incidence of science in everyday experience, is essentially an outsider's view, and fails to give sufficient emphasis to the significant differences, and the peculiar delights,

that set off refined theoretical inquiry from ordinary reflections on practical issues. And while Dewey repeatedly emphasized the need for the concrete reconstruction of our social institutions, he offered very little in the way of concrete proposals as to how we should proceed.

The truth, it seems to me, is that Dewey began as an Hegelian, and that, despite all his efforts and all his repeated and trenchant criticisms of Hegel, he never quite got over it. In his social philosophy, he repeatedly fell into the Hegelian habit of stating a social ideal in what looks like purely descriptive language; his logical theory is full of Hegelian hang-overs; and his philosophy of education makes so much of the point that the object of education is growth and the ability to keep on learning that the question of *what* will be learned seems somehow to disappear, and very little is said about the specific values in terms of which we can measure growth. There can be no doubt that the jargon of teachers' colleges and the extreme forms of progressive education are, as Professor Edman says, virtual parodies of Dewey's ideas. But it is hard to deny that Dewey's emphasis on the process of education as a shared and cooperative experience seems to come at the expense of an emphasis on the mastering of definite and necessary skills.

These defects in Dewey's thinking must legitimately temper our admiration of his achievement. And yet, as this creatively edited anthology helps us to see, such criticisms are somehow not quite to the central point.



DEWEY: 'SENSE, HOPE, COURAGE'

Dewey was not a tight or a subtle thinker. And despite all his concern to criticize abstractions in the light of concrete experience, his turn of mind was as abstract as that of most philosophers, and more abstract than many.

But what counts in Dewey is his vision. It was a radical vision, he knew it was radical, and he applied it relentlessly to almost every major field of human interest. And he succeeded with this vision in affecting the fundamental context of our thinking about philosophy and science, morals and politics, education and democracy, so that things can never be quite the same as they were before he appeared.

On one side, it was a vision of the place of thinking in human experience. Dewey helped change our thinking about the nature of thinking itself, giving human intelligence a natural and social environment, and cutting it loose from traditional absolutistic ideals and from untenable dualisms that separated theory from practice and reason from experience. And he provided an image of the difference that thought makes in human affairs, and of the larger difference it could make if the resources now at our disposal were systematically marshaled.

Dewey has been criticized most often, and most unfairly, for wanting to limit intelligence to purely "practical" concerns. But what he really wished was to make practice intelligent, and he saw that this could not be done unless children and adults lived their lives under conditions that generated ideas out of their vital experience. His object was to explore the conditions which might give practical experience this sustained intellectual aspect. One cannot avoid the feeling, of course, that his interest in providing school children with vital experiences that would help them see the practical significance of what they were learning went too far.

In their application in the classroom, Dewey's repeated denigration of "theory" at the expense of "expe-

rience," and his concern with devices that would show the relation of what is learned in the classroom to what goes on in the world outside, have distracted the attention of teachers and students from ideas themselves, and underestimate (it seems to me) the vital experience that can be found, even by children, in mastering intellectual skills and in dealing with ideas directly. I do not think that Dewey can be relieved of all responsibility for the artificial, cultist, and almost ritualistic preoccupation with pedagogical gadgetry—"projects," "field trips," and all the rest—that now weigh down our teaching methods. But as the pages Professor Edman has included from Dewey's *Democracy and Education* make plain, his object was not to limit education to what is "useful," but to create a school environment, and, more generally, a social environment, in which ideas were used and therefore genuinely mastered. To remake our educational practices and social institutions in the light of this conception of how intelligence is generated out of human experience was his abiding concern.

And Dewey's vision, on the other side, was a vision of the revolutionary nature of democracy in human affairs, and of the revolutionary new values it had brought on the human scene. The virtue of democracy, for Dewey, was its unprecedented power to provide individuals with an educative environment, to give them meaningful experience. And this provided him not only with a reason for believing in democracy, but with a criterion for judging its actual operations. He helped us to see that the problems that beset democracy can be solved only by carrying the democratic revolution forward, only by happily accepting the values and the intrinsic quality of experience for which democracy stands, and by progressively extending them into our work and play, our schools and factories, and our associated living.

Dewey thought that the function of philosophy was essentially imagi-

native—to project the possibilities of an age so that men might move intelligently to desired goals. In the last half century, no one has a better claim to have done this job for American democracy than Dewey himself.

Indeed, the degree to which the defects in Dewey's thought have become the problems with which we are preoccupied suggests how successful he was in dealing with *his* problems. It is no longer as easy as it once was to solve social problems by taking refuge in abstractions about unchanging natural rights. Our schools, for all our complaints about them, are happier and freer places to send our children, less boring, less routinized, more responsive to individual needs and differences. The philosophy that is taught and practiced in our universities is less irresponsibly dogmatic and speculative, and more clearly oriented toward the solution of definite problems; indeed, despite his criticism of the classic tradition in philosophy, Dewey did as much as anyone to revive the large, classic vision of philosophy as the discipline that deals with problems of passionate concern to men at large. And in our approach to the problems of democracy, we are at least aware that the issues are not purely formal and legalistic, but involve the institutions that form men's intimate habits and the quality of their everyday experience. Much of this goes back to Dewey's seminal vision.

As Professor Edman says "John Dewey was the voice of liberal intelligence when the prospects of good will and intelligence seemed better than they do at this brutal moment of modern history. . . . But Dewey in a deep sense is the voice of a persistent central hard core of practical sense and humane hope and courage in this country. . . . His was a voice for reasonableness and for imagination. He will be listened to again and long." Professor Edman's judiciously edited book may help us to recover at least some of the sanity and courage for which Dewey stood.

A Misleading Guide to U.S. Communism

By John A. Sessions

IT WOULD BE difficult to imagine a work of scholarship at once more important and more badly done than the *Bibliography on the Communist Problem in the United States* financed and published by the Fund for the Republic. This 475-page volume lists more than 5,000 books and articles on the subject of the Communist party. It is unquestionably the most ambitious and best-financed attempt to provide a definitive work in this field. And yet, the compilers of this volume have consistently omitted the most important works of many of the very writers who have done most to illuminate the Communist problem.

Bibliographies have one important purpose—to direct future research workers to the most significant available materials. This bibliography, should it become a standard library reference item, could only have the opposite effect—that is, to direct future research workers away from some of the most telling indictments of Communist methods.

Here, for example, is a bibliography of the Communist problem which includes no mention of anything by Angelica Balabanoff, first Secretary of the Communist International, whose autobiography is one of the most illuminating accounts we have of the internal operation of the Comintern. The bibliography lists nothing written by Dwight Macdonald, whose attacks on the Communists have become an integral part of our intellectual history. Arthur Koestler is represented by a single article which he wrote for the *New York Times*; the editors of the bibliography seem unaware that Mr. Koestler has written books. Max Eastman, whose writing on Communism is nothing if not persistent, is represented by three entries, all minor articles. Liston Oak is represented by a single article arguing

In the October 3 *NEW LEADER*, James Rorty praised two security studies assisted by the Fund for the Republic. Last spring, we noted that several NL writers (including Daniel Bell, John P. Roche, Ralph L. Roy, Moshe Decter) were engaged, under the direction of Clinton Rossiter and sponsored by the Fund, in a major study of Communist influence on U.S. institutions. As part of that study, John A. Sessions is writing a history of the League of American Writers. Mr. Sessions, assistant director of the ILGWU Training Institute, taught at Michigan and Cornell and has written for the *Atlantic* and other journals.

against new laws to control Communists. Judging from this bibliography, Bertram Wolfe must have died in the mid-1930s since there are several articles written by Wolfe when he was a Communist but none by this prolific writer since 1934.

One of the most astonishing items is the single entry for James T. Farrell—an article he wrote against Trotskyism in 1950. Farrell's *Note on Literary Criticism*, a telling attack on the Communist literary critics, accelerated the crumbling of the Communist literary front, but it does not warrant a place in this autobiography, nor do other pieces written by Farrell on the Communists.

For several years, the Free Trade Union Committee of the American

Federation of Labor has published a series of significant documents on the problems of Communists and the labor movement. But none of these are included in this bibliography. Instead, the AFL is represented by a collection of trivia.

One could go on indefinitely calling the roll of writers either inadequately represented or altogether ignored—Norman Thomas, William Henry Chamberlin, Philip Taft, James Rorty, Joseph Wood Krutch, Philip Rahv, David Dallin, and so on. But the point is clear. This is a bibliography on the Communist problem which has no room for the works which have hurt the Communists most.

The bibliography is no more adequate in its treatment of Communist party sources. There is room to cite such inconsequential items as an article by Pat Toohey listing Communist-sponsored radio programs in Philadelphia during June and July 1936; an article by E. Richards in *The Communist* on the Unicameral Legislature in Nebraska, and an advertisement for a novel by Upton Sinclair. But there is no room for Albert Maltz's famous groveling public recantation in the *Daily Worker* of the deviationist views he had recently expressed in the *New Masses*.

The bibliography has room for Father Raymond Kelley's silly attack on surrealism as Communistic art,

PROTECT YOUR HOUSEHOLD AGAINST FIRE!

INSURE WITH ONE OF THE OLDEST CO-OPERATIVE
SOCIETIES IN THE UNITED STATES—FOUNDED IN 1872
—\$1.00 PER YEAR FOR EVERY \$1000 OF INSURANCE—

A deposit of \$9.00 for every \$1000 worth of insurance is required. Deposits are returnable upon withdrawal of membership.

WRITE FOR BOOKLET NO. L 42

WORKMEN'S MUTUAL FIRE INSURANCE SOCIETY, INC.

227 E. 84 St., New York 28, N. Y.—Phone: RE 4-2432-2420

but no room for *International Literature's* well known savage tirade against the *New Masses* for, among other things, failing to reprint enough of Stalin's speeches.

One can only wonder what has happened. There are two possible explanations. One is that this book results from incompetence, that the compilers honestly did not know where to look for the materials they were supposedly seeking. If so, it is slight excuse: This is too important

a matter to be left to rank amateurs.

The second possibility is a more disturbing one—that somehow the “anti-anti-Communist” attitude has touched this work. Professor Arthur Sutherland of the Harvard University Law School, who was in charge of this project, is a legal scholar of unquestioned repute. But, as is the fashion in scholarship these days, he turned the actual work over to a corps of assistants. It would be interesting to know more about these

assistants, and to know what Professor Sutherland did to check on their political background before he turned the work over to them.

If the Fund for the Republic seriously wishes to defend itself against such attacks as have been leveled against it by Fulton Lewis and the American Legion, it must do something to make amends for this bibliography. The job has been so badly done that nothing remains but to do it over again.

Lady Chatterley in Italy

Exchange of Joy.

By Isabel Quigly.

Harcourt, Brace. 250 pp. \$3.50.

Reviewed by Hélène Cantarella

Former chief, Foreign Language Review
Section, OWI Motion Picture Bureau

THE emotional impact of Italy on Anglo-Saxons has caused a lot of ink to flow since the war. One need but mention Tennessee Williams's novel, *The Roman Spring of Mrs. Stone*, and Arthur Laurents's play, *The Time of the Cuckoo* (lately filmed in Venice under the title of *Summertime*), to have some idea of the diversity of treatment accorded this provocative theme. It has, of course, been explored in Italy, too, most recently perhaps by Mario Soldati, whose novel *Lettere da Capri* won last year's important Strega prize.

There now comes to us from England a slight but curiously intense first novel, *Exchange of Joy*, which tells what happened to a conventional Englishwoman during a year spent in Italy with her two little children while her husband was off on a business trip to Australia.

Gentle, stable, devout and “absurdly ordinary,” as she had once said about herself, 25-year-old Celia Coke was a thoroughly domesticated wife and mother whose potential urges toward personal ambition, restlessness and defiance had been thoroughly dissipated by the prickly humor and rigid set of values of her staid architect-husband, Neddy.

Yet Celia must have had, beneath

her placid exterior, an active and vivid subconscious life, for when she first met in Tuscany the wearily handsome Siennese poet, Arcangelo Tolomei, she “recognized him at once” as “her dream grown into daylight.” Falling rapturously in love, she capitulates with pagan fulsome-ness and uncharacteristic absence of guilt or remorse. For a year, Celia and Arcangelo live together in unclouded bliss, have a child and, despite the pain of parting, decide for the good of all to go their separate ways.

Miss Quigly is a writer of undeniable sensitivity whose forte lies in conveying the atmosphere of breathless and sustained ecstasy in which women of Celia's stamp live when in love. But she has reduced the real core of the story to a flimsy shadow of what it might have been if treated seriously and in depth.

By making Arcangelo over to look and behave “like an Englishman of the most casually elegant sort,” she has falsified him until he becomes nothing more than the sentimental and hackneyed prototype of what a provincial young British matron would expect in an Italian poet-lover. She has also glossed over or deliberately removed the essential and

often irreconcilable psychological, emotional and cultural differences, contrasts and conflicts which bedevil and intensify the passions of men and women of different nationalities who fall in love.

Lastly, she leaves her readers with too many questions unanswered and unresolved: How can Celia honestly go back to the unsuspecting and unloved Neddy after her Italian interlude? How can she keep hidden from him the secret of the birth of Arcangelo's child? Can she really give up her baby so easily for adoption by the implausible old Oxford don who serves as *deus ex machina* when someone is needed to remove the damaging evidence once the liaison between Arcangelo and Celia ends? How can Arcangelo agree to this preposterous arrangement? What about Neddy? Is he so obtuse that the change in Celia, however subtle and artfully concealed under silence, would go unperceived?

Miss Quigly begs the point when she closes her story with the comment that “it was not neat and ended: there was no solution and no conclusion.” The real novel begins not so much with the unmarred idyll she has given us as with its consequences.

The Building of Modern Israel

Sound the Great Trumpet.
Edited by M. Z. Frank.
Whittier. 415 pp. \$5.00.

Reviewed by Leon Dennen

Roving correspondent,
Newspaper Enterprise Association

IT WAS on a recent tour of Israel that I first heard the amazing story of Joshua Stampfer, a founder of Petah-Tikvah and, according to M. Z. Frank, "one of the most remarkable men in modern Jewish history."

Unfortunately, Israelis of today—pressed by enemies on all sides and racing against time to build and strengthen their little state—have but little time for history—unless, of course, it is Biblical history. So it was that I had only a brief moment in Petah-Tikvah, oldest Jewish agricultural settlement in Palestine, to listen to the gray-bearded patriarch who apparently knew Stampfer "in the flesh" and bitterly regretted the fact that Joshua, though dead almost a half a century, did not live to see his dream of a Jewish *medinah* come true. Under the "persuasive" guidance of my official escort, I was soon speeding toward the Negev, where another strip of the desert is being reclaimed—often with tears and blood and always with sweat.

I suspect that my guide, a young stout-hearted Jew from South Africa who fought heroically in Israel's "war of liberation," was himself not too familiar with the folk-heroes of the First *Aliyah*, the earliest pioneers, who preceded him. In his frenzied preoccupation with the present and, above all, with Israel's future, he, too, like most Israelis, had little time for those other "stout-hearted Jews whose daring and fortitude," to quote a passage in *Sound the Great Trumpet*, "made it possible for those who were to follow them to achieve the miracle of a homeland."

I finally encountered Joshua Stampfer again on the pages of *Sound the Great Trumpet*, Mr. Frank's massive compilation of mem-

oirs, short stories and abridged novels by some 40 Israeli leaders and men of letters. In a series of brilliant "pen-portraits," Moshe Smilansky, himself an early pioneer in Palestine and probably the most articulate representative of the "First *Aliyah*," sketches vividly not only the life of Stampfer but also the hopes, frustrations and tragedies of men like Moshe Yoel Solomon, David Gutman, the saintly A. D. Gordon, theoretician of the "Religion of Labor," and the rest of that precious band of dreamers, pioneers and heroes who blazed the trail for their better known and more publicized successors.

To my knowledge, *Sound the Great Trumpet* is the first attempt to present in the English language the dramatic story of Israel from the 1870s to the present. It thus fills the wide gap in our knowledge of the origin of the first Jewish state in some two thousand years and throws new light on the "miracle" that occurred in 1948.

Since the publication of such a book, sooner or later, was inevitable, it is indeed fortunate that it was Mr. Frank who undertook the monumental task. A competent Hebraist imbued with the life and traditions of Israel, he is also a qualified editor, and, despite his life-long devotion to the cause of Zionism, *Sound the Great Trumpet* is remarkably objective. (This, in itself, is a great feat in a book on Israel.) The material is on the whole well selected and well edited and the contributors to the volume include Prime Minister David Ben-Gurion, Vladimir Jabotinsky, brilliant orator, linguist, poet, novelist and *enfant terrible* of political Zionism, and Samuel Joseph Agnon,

Israel's greatest living novelist and short-story writer.

Sound the Great Trumpet, as Mr. Frank explains in his introduction, does not pretend to be either a literary anthology or a history of Jewish colonization in Palestine. The chief purpose of the book is to give a series of pictures (most of them contributed by the participants themselves) of life in Israel during the decades in which it evolved from a wilderness into a modern state, and the years immediately following the creation of the state.

Indeed, without being shrill—without indulging in glorification or special pleading—*Sound the Great Trumpet* is primarily the story of Israel's fantastic conglomeration of Yemenite Jews and Moroccan Jews, Jews from Eastern Europe and America, cabbalists, mystics, atheists and orthodox Jews who jointly fought (and are still fighting) nature, mortal enemies and "civilized" indifference to carve out for themselves a new life in what they believe to be their ancestral home.

To be sure, one can quarrel with some of Mr. Frank's selections. Not all the stories, especially those dealing with the survivors of Hitler's gas chambers, are either representative or of equal value. Some of the condensations of the novels are so drastic as to deprive them of much of their literary value. It might have been better to omit some of them altogether.

But why indulge in hair-splitting? The fact remains that *Sound the Great Trumpet* is a very human and warm document about a vital phase of contemporary history and, to my mind, one of the best books on Israel to date.



SHIPLEY

On STAGE

By Joseph T. Shipley

A Young Girl's Faith in Life

The Diary of Anne Frank. Dramatized from the book by Frances Goodrich and Albert Hackett. Directed by Garson Kanin. Presented by Kermit Bloomgarden. At the Cort Theater.

DRAMATIZING a diary seems a difficult task, nor does there seem much likelihood of theatrical entertainment in the story of two Jewish families living for two years in a cramped hideaway from Hitler, only to be found, borne off to concentration camps, and killed. Yet somehow, in *The Diary of Anne Frank*, a happy combination of author, director and performer has resulted in an experience at once amusing, tender, touching and poignant, but not at all depressing—somehow entertaining and heartening, too.

Anne is 13 when she first confides to her diary her impressions of the persons with whom she is to spend a cabin'd and confined two years. Father Frank, seen through Anne's eyes, is thoughtful and understanding; but through the look we have at him as he first opens the diary (when all the others are dead) and at the end of the play closes it, we glimpse a measure of ineffectiveness in the man. He becomes more real by being less his daughter's dream-father. It takes Anne a long time to appreciate her mother, but the audience feels Mrs. Frank's struggle to hold the keel even, with a temperamental daughter and self-centered guests. For the other family, the Van Daans, have been well-to-do and spoiled. Mrs. Van Daan can never reconcile herself to the pri-

vation. Mr. Van Daan is a complainer, almost a whiner; Anne annoys him endlessly. When food grows scarce, he slips down at night and tries to steal some of the community bread.

The boy Peter is a sullen lad who but gradually softens under the gentle treatment of Mr. Frank and the gathering interest of adolescent Anne. Also on hand is the fussbudget old bachelor dentist Dussel, who has to share Anne's bedroom. As these folks must be quiet all day, because strangers are working in the offices below, the strain on them through over two years of such confinement may well be imagined.

And under the strain they have their assorted breaks. Tempers flare, petty quarrels arise, cruel words are spoken. Yet, somehow they continue to live. And Anne—whose diary we hear, then watch it come to life on the stage—manages to find more than moments of fun as she grows toward womanhood and looks forward to a rich and creative life.

The authors have laid a great burden upon Susan Strasberg, who lives the role of Anne. For Anne is an extrovert, who must always be doing, doing—she walks behind Van Daan, mimicking his ways, or she slips into Peter's room to put on his clothing and come out before the family as a cocky boy. More touchingly, she puts on gloves and scarf to walk across the common living room for an evening call on Peter. And Anne is an introvert, questioning, self-questioning, analyzing, asking her diary, her sister, her father,

Peter about life. She even becomes a moralist or mentor at times, lecturing Peter about his black moods, assuring him that most people are good or will be in a hundred years or so. Strangely, it is that confidence of Anne, even after she has gone to her death, which echoes from her diary to hearten the audience.

This lass of many sides and many moods Susan Strasberg brings not only to life but to tender nearness. She has flashes of insight, spurts of mischief, moments of fright. Her spells of hatred for her mother grow toward understanding. She has the high spirits of a child, but the constant company of the adults makes her understanding. There are few more touching moments in the contemporary theater than that which Susan Strasberg creates when, on Hanukah night as her father regrets that there are no presents, Anne pulls home-made presents for them all out of a bag. Even for Mr. Van Daan: two cigarettes, made of scraps and pocket-scrappings. And for the audience, moist eyes at a girl's warm heart. It is a pearl of an episode, superbly set.

A perfect foil to young Susan Strasberg is Joseph Schildkraut as Mr. Frank, whose quiet tone maintains the essential dignity of human nature, as Anne does its growth and goodness. The other figures, less fortified, with lower melting points, are in the hands of competent players—Gusti Huber as Mrs. Frank; Jack Gilford as Dussel—whom Garson Kanin has molded into a community. A community of diverse personalities, crowded into an attic, presenting a poignant segment of the human tragi-comedy, faulty enough to be close to us all but touched with that element still in us—despite the recent inroads of the beast—which lifts toward the divine. *The Diary of Anne Frank* is an exalting experience in the theater. It shows us that, in spite of hardship and danger, life can be fun. And also that (as all rich tragedies show) life is worthwhile.

DEAR EDITOR

VOTING

The figures on New York City's recent voting registration clearly indicate that the people are not taking an active interest in political affairs. This year's registration was the lowest in 24 years.

And when one notes the alarming fact that close to 50 per cent of the people who are eligible to vote fail to exercise their privilege, he can only conclude that too few Americans appreciate their freedom.

Brooklyn, N. Y.

SIMON COHEN

VFW AND UNESCO

Courtney R. Sheldon's "VFW Hits UNESCO, Legion Clears It" (NL, September 19) was not up to the usual reportorial standards of your magazine.

First, the VFW at its Boston Encampment criticized, as it has twice before, just one phase of UNESCO's activities: its attempt to use American schools to propagandize for world government.

Secondly, the American Legion never "cleared" UNESCO. At its 1954 convention, it passed a resolution condemning the use of UNESCO's pro-world-government material in U.S. schools. That was still the official Legion stand when Mr. Sheldon wrote his article. The report favorable to UNESCO, prepared by a special American Legion committee, had not been adopted by the Legion and specifically stated in its foreword that it did not alter the Legion's policy toward UNESCO. At the Legion's 1955 convention, held this month, that report was rejected and the Legion reaffirmed its opposition to UNESCO's pro-world-government teachings.

Mr. Sheldon's statement that the VFW has been publicly whipping UNESCO because it has found it "fashionable" to do so is just not true. How does he reconcile that charge with the statement (in his next paragraph) that this country has not responded to the VFW's "strident cry of alarm"?

The VFW's stand on UNESCO, regardless of fashion, is determined by the manner in which delegates vote on resolutions submitted to them at our National Encampments. These delegates passed the resolution critical of UNESCO because UNESCO teaches that (and this is just one of many similar declarations) "One of the chief aims of education everywhere is to develop those qualities of citizenship which provide the foundation upon which international government must be based if it is to succeed" (italics mine). Also because UNESCO proposes, as a possible solution to some UN problems, a plan which "would be a beginning of functional world government" (UNESCO's own words)

THE NEW LEADER welcomes comment and criticism on any of its features, but letters should not exceed 300 words.

and states that its educational goals are threatened "as long as the child breathes the poisoned air of nationalism." The VFW believes in nationalism, which, according to standard dictionaries, is "patriotism" or "devotion to the interests of one's own nation." It does not accept UNESCO's view that patriotism is poison.

Mr. Sheldon charged the VFW with "hesitancy to face the complexities" of the modern world. The delegates to our recent National Encampment acted on over 435 resolutions concerning not only veterans' affairs in general and the organization's internal affairs, but also national security, national and foreign affairs, civil service and housing, Americanism, civil defense, community service and athletics, and youth activities. About 260 of these resolutions were adopted as submitted or after being amended, others were submitted to committees for further study, and a considerable number were rejected. Does this indicate hesitancy in facing world problems?

"The fascist label, however, according to the new head of the VFW, Timothy J. Murphy of Boston, cannot legitimately be pinned on the VFW." So wrote Mr. Sheldon. Without my explaining why, I think your readers will be able to see that that was an implied smear, especially since this statement of Mr. Murphy's was not made in reference to UNESCO.

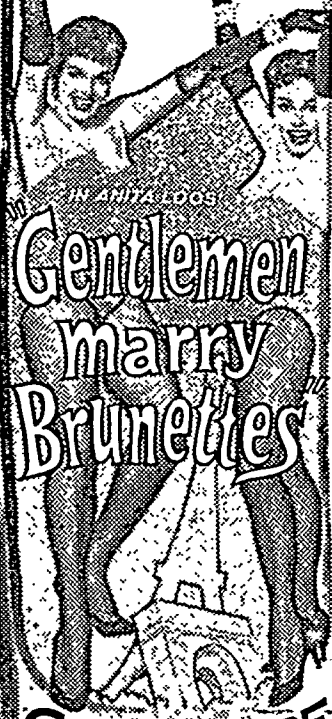
Many thoughtful observers besides our Commander-in-Chief have commented in recent years on the plethora of information and opinion media that often tends to confuse rather than inform. Mr. Sheldon seemed to find our Commander-in-Chief's observation on this score rather amusing and merely an indication of foolish yearning for "the good old days" when veterans' groups played a more influential community role. In the context in which that observation was originally made (in a *Christian Science Monitor* interview), it was not that at

CONTINUED ON NEXT PAGE

DIRECT FROM PARIS, FRANCE!

THE BIG, BUXOM, BEAUTIFUL MUSICAL!

JANE RUSSELL
JEANNE CRAIN



CINEMASCOPE

color by Technicolor

ALAN YOUNG • SCOTT BRADY • RUDY VALLEE

Written for the screen by MARY LOOS & RICHARD SALE • Directed by RICHARD SALE
Produced by RICHARD SALE & ROBERT WATERFIELD
Executive Producer ROBERT BASSLER
Released thru UNITED ARTISTS

BRANDY'S
MAYFAIR

7th Ave. & 47th St.

IS YOUR 'GOLDEN RULE' IN HOUSING MINUS A FEW INCHES?

Live your beliefs in unsegregated housing in beautiful Bucks County. A spacious 3-bedroom ranch home... radiant heated... large finished garage on a fully landscaped 1/4 acre lot — \$11,990 and up. Also 4-bedroom houses — \$13,600. 100% mortgages available. On bus line to El, near Phila. Interchange Pa. Turnpike. Call Elmwood 7-4356 or write

CONCORD PARK HOMES
... OLD LINCOLN HIGHWAY
& STREET ROAD, TREVOSE, PA.

FABIAN'S FOX
B'KLYN on our GIANT PANORAMIC SCREEN!
FLATBUSH TR 5
AT NEVINS 9350
JACK WEBB
"PETE KELLY'S BLUES"
CinemaScope

THEATER PARTIES

All trade unions and fraternal organizations are requested when planning theater parties to do so through Bernard Feinman, Manager of The New Leader Theatrical Department, 7 East 15th St., N.Y.C. Phone, ALgonquin 5-8844.

DEAR EDITOR

CONTINUED

all, but rather the expression of an intelligent wish that it were easier for the average citizen to get all the facts on important current issues so that he could take a sound position on them. Mr. Sheldon conveniently omitted the final sentence of the VFW leader's remark on this point, to wit: "It's hard to tell who's telling the truth."

Is there anything wrong in expressing regret that such a condition exists?

Washington, D. C. FRANCIS J. McNAMARA
Director, American Sovereignty
Campaign, VFW

Mr. Sheldon replies:

Contrary to Mr. McNamara's implication, my article states very clearly that the VFW was accusing UNESCO of "promoting world government and subverting American youth. . . ." No further charge against UNESCO was attributed to the VFW. The article also explicitly states that the report clearing UNESCO was made by "a special American Legion committee." The article did not say or imply that the entire Legion was behind the report and, in fact, indicated the opposite by reporting the "pressures exerted on them [the special committee] to drop the report." An abbreviated headline, "VFW Hits UNESCO, Legion Clears It," is apparently the source of Mr. McNamara's confusion. Mr. McNamara overlooks the fact that the article's emphasis on VFW "hesitancy" was not based on any VFW unwillingness to comment on world affairs but on the charge that it lacked understanding of the "complexities of existence in a world where understanding the aspirations of all peoples is essential to survival." The article's quotation of Mr. Murphy on the "fascist label" in reference to the VFW stand on UNESCO is indeed legitimate. The attacks some persons have made on the VFW were undoubtedly made with the VFW's stand on UNESCO, among others, well in mind. Lastly, there was nothing "conveniently omitted." Mr. McNamara's comments and further quotations tend to emphasize the points already made in the article.



Paramount presents
JANE WYMAN CHARLTON HESTON
LUCY GALLANT
CLAIRE TREVOR THELMA RITTER

Produced by
COLOR BY TECHNICOLOR WILLIAM H. PINE and WILLIAM C. THOMAS
VISTAVISION

Directed by ROBERT PARRISH
Screenplay by JOHN LEE MAHIN and WINSTON MILLER

DOORS OPEN 9:45 A.M.
LATE FILM 12:14 A.M.

Victoria

B'way & 46th St.

"SUPERLATIVE SCREEN ENTERTAINMENT!"

—Bosley Crowther, Times

RODGERS & HAMMERSTEIN'S

OKLAHOMA!

TODD-AO
SOUND BY TODD-AO
IN EASTMAN COLOR



RIVOLI
B'way at 49th St.
Circle 7-1633

ALL SEATS RESERVED! MAIL ORDERS FILLED! SEATS ON SALE AT BOX-OFFICE! 2 shows daily, 2:30 and 8:30 P.M. Sat. at 2:30, 6, 9:30 P.M. Sun. and Hols. 1:30, 5, 8:30 P.M.
Distributed by Magna Theatre Corp.



RADIO CITY MUSIC HALL

Showplace of the Nation

Rockefeller Center

"Magnificent . . . a thriller-diller!"—GARDNER, HER. TRIB.

"TRIAL"

starring **GLENN FORD • DOROTHY McGUIRE**
ARTHUR KENNEDY • JOHN HODIAK • KATY JURADO

Written by DON M. MANKIEWICZ • Directed by MARK ROBSON
Produced by CHARLES SCHNEE • AN M-G-M PICTURE

ON STAGE: "TROPICANA" — Brilliant new revue . . . produced by Leonidoff, with the Rockettes, Corps de Ballet, Choral Ensemble . . . Symphony Orchestra directed by Raymond Paige.

MOVING THIS FALL?

At least 3 weeks' notice is required for all changes of address. Include your old address—or address label.

Subscription Department

NEW LEADER

7 E. 15th Street, New York 3

"EXCELLENT STUFF."

"HILARIOUS HIT." —Atkinson, Times
"TOP GRADE." —Coleman, Mirror
—Chapman, News

MUSICAL COMEDY SMASH

PLAIN AND FANCY

MAIL ORDERS PROMPTLY FILLED
PRICES: Mon. thru Sat. Evgs. Orch. \$6.90; Loges \$5.75; Mess. \$4.80 and \$3.60; Balc. \$3.00 and \$2.50. Matinees WED. and SAT.: Orch. \$4.15; Loges \$3.45; Mess. \$3.00; Balc. \$2.50 and \$2.00, including tax.

WINTER GARDEN THEATRE

50th STREET and Broadway
Evgs. 8:30. Matinees Wed. & Sat. 2:30
Moves to Mark Hellinger Theater, Nov. 7

FEDERAL BUREAU OF INVESTIGATION

UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

FBI SAN FRANCISCO (105-3560)

AIRTEL

Transmit the following Teletype message to:

DIRECTOR, FBI

11/21/55

Fund For The Republic

STUDY OF GOVERNMENT SECURITY PROGRAM

BY STANFORD LAW REVIEW, STANFORD, CALIF.

IS - X

Mr. Tolson	
Mr. Boardman	
Mr. Nichols	
Mr. Belmont	
Mr. Harbo	
Mr. Mohr	
Mr. Parsons	
Mr. Rosen	
Mr. Tamm	
Mr. Sizoo	
Mr. Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Mr. Holloman	
Miss Gandy	

ReSFlet 9/16/55. (100-391697-197X)

Attached hereto is a copy of the preliminary draft on employer practices implementing the Federal Industrial Personnel Security Program. This is in the nature of a preliminary draft of the article to appear in the Stanford Law Review. The above draft was made available to SA [redacted] on 11/20/55 by [redacted] [redacted] Stanford Research Institute, Menlo Park, Calif.

It is noted that the cover letter to this draft, which is addressed to [redacted] requests the return of the copy of the draft with his comments within three weeks. [redacted] has stated that he did intend to study this proposed draft and thereafter forward his observations to the Stanford Law Review.

WHELAN

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 22303KJ

Enclosure (1)

AM REGISTERED

FRE:cs
(4)

Mr. Boardman

RECORDED - 4

INDEXED

23 NOV 23 1955

50 DEC 16 1955

Approved: *WR7*

Special Agent in Charge

Sent

Per

Mr. Nichols

M. A. Jones

Best Copy Available

December 2, 1955

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
7 P.M., DECEMBER 2, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 881573/cg

Lewis stated that the White House Conference on Education held in Washington this week was backed by the Ford Foundation and the National Education Association (NEA). He said that the findings of the Conference concerning Federal aid to education were not the opinions of the 1,000 delegates to the Conference but were drafted in advance by the "Federal educationalist clique."

Lewis added that there were objections from the floor at the Conference concerning this report but these objections were ruled out of order. He commented that Federal aid to education allows the Federal Government to get its foot in the door at the local level. Lewis said that the Texas delegation to the Conference and others objected to the Conference's recommendation for Federal aid to education.

Lewis made no further reference to the Ford Foundation and did not mention the Ford Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Ford for the Republic file (100-3)1677)

100-3-1149-
NOT RECORDED
141 L. 1355

WCP:bs
(3)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 8, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
EARL GODWIN
NEWS BROADCAST
DECEMBER 8, 1955

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Richols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Nease	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

On his broadcast tonight, Mr. Godwin stated, "Young Mr. Henry spoke up just in time, I think." He went on to relate that Henry Ford II's slap at the doings of the Fund for the Republic is quite reassuring, according to National Commander J. Addington Wagner of the American Legion. Mr. Godwin stated that another American Legion Commander had sent a letter to Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, urging his resignation in view of the disavowal of the Fund's activities by Mr. Ford. Mr. Godwin related that Ford alleged that, although Ford money was originally put out for the operation of the Fund, he and his family have no control whatsoever over the activities of the Fund, and he had no idea what effect his comments would have on their future activities. Mr. Godwin commented that a long sigh of relief went up when Ford told the Fund for the Republic to shut up.

He quoted Representative Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, as saying that the Fund deliberately attempted to block investigations by that Committee. Representative Walter said that Ford's statement was not surprising when one considers that the Fund for the Republic holds that the Communist Party is just another political party, rather than a militant conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of our Constitutional freedoms. Representative Walter said that this mistaken attitude serves to disarm the unwary, as to the dangers of communism.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman100-391497
NOT RECORDED
46 DEC 14 1955

16 DEC 13 1955

RGE:nma

(7)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 3-89 BY 288 BTJ/eq

LIAISON

64 DEC 13 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 100-391497-151

Stanford LAW REVIEW

STANFORD UNIVERSITY

Stanford, California

November 15, 1955

[redacted]
Stanford Research Institute
Stanford Village
Stanford, California

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-3-89 BY 25805 JH

b6
b7C

Dear [redacted]:

Enclosed is a draft of our student Note on employer practices implementing the federal industrial personnel security program, in the research for which you or someone in your office was interviewed. The project is still in draft stage. As is pointed out in the introduction, there is a danger of failure of communication in research through interviews, and we would appreciate any comments you have to make about the general tone of the Note or specific points. If we have gone wrong in any particular, we want to be set right, so that if the experience in your organization does not seem to jibe with our statements, we would like to know about it.

The draft includes those footnotes which are something more than a citation of authority.

I would be grateful if you could return the copy of the draft with your comments within three weeks.

Sincerely yours,

[redacted]

b6
b7C

WHA/vb
enc.

ENCLOSURE

100-391697-315

FOOTNOTES

A. All contractors doing secured work are bound to this program by their contracts with the government. 32 C.F.R. § 7.104-12 (1954).

B. Almost all of the interviews were with personnel managers and security officers rather than with top management. The terms "employers" and "contractors" are, however, used throughout the Note for the sake of brevity.

C. Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulation § 72.1--300, 20 Fed. Reg. 6776 (1955).

An attempt is made to make the government agency with which the private firm has contracted the cognizant agency, but this cannot be done where more than one agency contracts with the firm, and it may not be possible in other situations. Id. § 72.1--301.

D. There is no systematic reporting of cases arising under the program. A number of industrial personnel security cases are collected in Yarmolinsky, Case Studies in Personnel Security 217-85 (1955).

E. Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulation § 72.2--203(e)(2), 20 Fed. Reg. 6784 (1955). Certain key personnel, who must be

cleared in connection with the plant security clearance, *id.* § 72.2--107, receive a National Agency check (see pp. 11-12 infra) before being granted Confidential clearances. Id. § 72.2--203(e)(1). The reason given is "the added responsibility imposed upon these individuals, for clearance of their employees for access to Confidential information"
Ibid.

F. Only the government can clear a non-citizen for access to Confidential information. Industrial Security Manual for Safeguarding Classified Information § 66.18(a) (2), 20 Fed. Reg. 6219 (1955).

G. Contractors are required to maintain a record of employees who have been cleared for access to each level of classified information. Id. § 66.21.

H. Armed Forces Industrial Security Regulation § 72.2--208(a), 20 Fed. Reg. 6785 (1955). The other agencies whose files are checked, as appropriate, are the Civil Service Commission, the Bureau of Immigration and Naturalization and the House Committee on Un-American Activities. Ibid.

I. Industrial Personnel Security Review

3.

Regulation § 67.4--2, 20 Fed. Reg. 1556 (1955). The security adviser to one of the hearing board panels, p. 15 infra, said in an interview that virtually all cases come to the Screening Board by way of a recommendation from one of the military departments that clearance should be granted. The Screening Board also receives cases in which a military department has recommended revocation of a clearance or denial of access to a non-employee industrial "visitor"; and cases in which action is requested by the head of a military department or the Secretary of Defense. Id. § 67.1--6(a).

J. Id. §§ 67.4--3(e), (f). That one dissent is enough to require this action seems to be the necessary implication of § 67.4--3 (h): "Favorable determination shall be by unanimous vote."

K. Employers and government officials so stated in interviews.

L. Id. § 67.2--3(a). The three boards established by the regulations are located in New York, Chicago and San Francisco, but the Director of Industrial Personnel Security Review may establish additional boards, and

panels of the board may sit wherever necessary "to ensure prompt and convenient hearings."

Ibid.

M. Id. § 67.4--7(a). The Review Board, like the Hearing and Screening Boards, is made up of as many three member panels--one member from each of the military departments--as necessary. One member of each panel must be a lawyer, and each panel must include at least one civilian. Id. § 67.2--4(b).

N. The procedure described in the foregoing paragraphs was announced Feb. 2, 1955, to go into effect sixty days later. Most of the experience of the contractors interviewed was under a program promulgated in 1953, which differed slightly from the 1955 program. Industrial Personnel and Facility Security Clearance Program, May 4, 1953. This document was apparently not published in the Federal Register but can be found in Hearings before a Subcommittee on Reorganization of the Senate Committee on Government Operations, 84th Cong., 1st Sess. at 191 (1955). There were three Screening Divisions, in New York, Chicago and San Francisco. Cases in which a military department recommended denial went

directly to one of the screening divisions, which were required to give an employee notice and an opportunity to reply by letter before making its decision. The procedure for appealing to the Hearing Board was the same, but the Hearing Board's decision was final under the 1953 program. There was no Review Board.

0. Three employers reported that the local branch of their cognizant military department requires that they submit to it the names of all persons granted Confidential clearances. They said that if the military department does not contact them within thirty days they consider an employee's clearance final. They said that if the military department does contact them, the communication takes the form of a flat denial of clearance. Two of the contractors said that when clearance was denied by the military department in this manner, they had not informed the employee of the denial. In one instance an employee was moved to an unclassified job; in the other he was fired. The military department concerned acknowledged that contractors submitted the names but denied that it communicated

with the contractors about derogatory information discovered when the names were turned over to its intelligence branch. An agency official said the information was passed along to the Screening Board.

P. One employer commented that when he received an inquiry he gave only the information required by state law--the official reason for the discharge.

Q. Two such agencies were mentioned by employers: The Better American Federation in Los Angeles and the Western Research Foundation in San Francisco.

R. One commercial credit agency said that the addition of a loyalty check added about two dollars to its customary charge of four dollars per man per city to be checked.

S. One employer acknowledged that his investigation for Confidential clearances was "meagre," then added a comment that information classified Confidential is not very important.

T. One employer stressed that competition among government contractors tends to limit the possible expenditure for personnel security.

U. An official of one cognizant military department reported that the extent of a contractor's investigation was a consideration in the award of contracts. An official of another department said the extent of investigation could not be a factor because the agency did not keep track of what the contractors were doing.

V. Collective bargaining agreements in the plants studied extended their protection to employees at times ranging from thirty to ninety days after hiring.

W. A discharge after access has been granted--especially after the employer has become entitled to the protection of the collective bargaining agreement, see note V supra. Some employers said it is difficult to sustain a security discharge before an arbitrator and that unions tended to question security discharges more frequently than non-security discharges.

X. One security officer said the policy of his company is to grant an interim Confidential clearance upon hiring, then investigate and turn over any derogatory information uncovered to the cognizant military department for appropriate action.

Y. These men indicated that the slowness is partly attributable to a lack of precise definition of the function of the military evaluators--and a consequent tendency for the evaluators to send a case to the Screening Board if there is any doubt--and partly to a habit of some military personnel to allow the harder cases to sit on their desks undecided.

Z. The government policy of not informing the contractor of the reason for the denial works against any modification of this policy.

Loyalty denials are not distinguished from suitability denials. Hence the contractor who is worried about potential saboteurs must presume all denials are for loyalty reasons.

AA. But see Yarmolinsky, Case Studies in Personnel Security 243 (1955), for an example of an employee being reinstated but in a worse-paying job.

The security program for private industry necessarily impinges on interests other than the national interest in security. Against the need for security must be balanced the fact that costs, delays and mistakes in screening out security risks burden defense production. Also, there are indications that advances in scientific research are hampered by restricting access to secret information to those who need it. Further, the requirement that only trustworthy persons have access to secret information limits the loyal individual's freedom to compete for certain jobs on the basis of his talent and experience; against the need for security must be balanced the possibility of an erroneous determination that an individual is a security risk, resulting in loss of his job or promotional opportunities. The security program should be allowed to impinge upon these interests only to the extent that there is a gain in security justifying the harm caused to the other interests and that no less costly means is available to achieve the gain in security.

The subject of this Note is the role which the personnel practices of government

contractors are playing in the industrial security program and the way in which those practices have shaped the operation of the program. The program in its present form leaves the private employer in a position of great responsibility. He decides what persons he will hire and whom he will place in positions requiring security clearance. To do so properly he must make a delicate determination which involves the several policies described above.

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

[REDACTED] Thus, as will be shown, whether the interests of individual opportunity are given sufficient weight in relation to the need for security is a question whose answer often depends exclusively on the personnel practices of the government contractor.

The Note is based principally on a three-month study of the personnel practices which have grown up around the security program in the electronics industry of the San Francisco Peninsula and aircraft plants in the Los Angeles area. Appropriate

officials of a dozen concerns, with work forces ranging from 300 to 51,000 persons, were interviewed. ^B Military officials dealing with security, members of federal security review boards and labor union officers were also interviewed. The purpose of these interviews was to ascertain how the hiring and promotion practices of the employers have shaped the industrial personnel security program and its impact on the persons with whom it is concerned.

Such a field study has inherent limitations insofar as drawing general conclusions about the program is concerned. One cannot be certain that the experience of the persons interviewed are typical of their counterparts in the country as a whole. Moreover, self-interest of the persons interviewed must dictate part, at least, of what they say. And there is always the danger of a failure of communication between men intimately acquainted with the matters they are discussing and interviewers seeking to learn about them.

But the value of field research is obvious: The program on the books may be much different from the program in action.

The only way to find out is to go to the people who are translating it into action.

II. The Program on the Books

The purpose of this section is to summarize the regulations governing the security program as a frame of reference for the subsequent discussion of the program in action in the companies studied. Since later discussion will be focussed on the relationship of the program to employer personnel practices, the present section will emphasize those parts of the regulations which bear on matters where the effect of employer practices is most significant. Other parts will be described only briefly.

A. Protection of Classified Information.

Executive Order 10501 authorizes specified executive departments and agencies to determine that certain information pertaining to national defense shall be protected by a prescribed system of safeguards. Once this determination is made, the information is termed classified. There are three categories of classified information, in ascending order of importance; Confidential, Secret and Top Secret.

6.
To each ascending category attach more stringent requirements of protection. Once classified, the material must continue to receive the prescribed protection until a classifying agency determines that secrecy is no longer necessary.

The Industrial Personnel Security Program was established by the President to safeguard classified information in the hands of private companies performing government defense contracts. The program provides for screening of companies on a security basis prior to awarding a contract and administration of measures for protecting the information after the contract has been awarded. The process of screening companies before awarding a contract is called facility clearance. It involves a determination that certain key officials in the contracting plant are loyal and trustworthy and that there are adequate physical safeguards within the plant. After the facility clearance is completed and the contract is awarded, the private contractor assumes a contractual duty to take the prescribed steps for protection of the classified information. These steps are set forth in a Department of Defense

security manual which is incorporated by reference into all classified contracts. One of the three military departments-- Army, Navy or Air Force--is assigned cognizance of each contractor for the purpose of administering the security regulations. ✓

Two general kinds of security duties are imposed on the contractor. First, he must maintain prescribed physical safeguards for the classified information. Second, he must permit access to the information only to those employees who need to know ". . . such information in the performance of {their} assigned duties," and who have been authorized to have access through the prescribed procedures.

The authorization for an employee to be granted access, called a clearance, is based on a determination that the employee is trustworthy. Throughout the program -- whether the clearance sought is for access to Confidential, Secret or Top Secret Material -- trustworthiness is determined by a single standard: "Clearance shall be denied or revoked if it is determined, on the basis of all the available information, that access to classified information by the person concerned is not clearly consistent with the

interests of the national security."

This broad standard obviously leaves a wide area for individual interpretation.

An understanding of its meaning in practice would require analysis of a great number of individual cases. ^D Therefore little effort is made in this note to evaluate the standard as it is applied, although vital interests of those individuals affected by the Program will ultimately turn upon the content given to the verbal formula in which the standard is expressed.

Twenty-two criteria are provided by the regulations for use in applying the standard. These involve past acts and associations which are believed to indicate that an individual should not be cleared and are divided into two general classes: (1) Facts which indicate that an individual may be disloyal, for example, "Establishing or continuing a sympathetic association with a saboteur, spy, traitor, seditionist, anarchist, or revolutionist..." (2) Facts which indicate that an individual has character weaknesses which render him unsuitable for access to classified information, because he may be an unusually easy target for trickery, coercion or

2.

bribery, for example, "Any criminal, infamous, dishonest, immoral, or notoriously disgraceful conduct, habitual use of intoxicants to excess, drug addition, or sexual perversion." Denial of clearance, according to the Department of Defense, "does not necessarily carry any implication that the individual is disloyal. . . . [T]here are many other reasons, unrelated to loyalty."

There are three levels of clearance, corresponding to the three categories of classification: Confidential, Secret and Top Secret. Each level of clearance authorizes access to the corresponding category of classified information. Official procedures for granting clearance vary with the clearance level: Confidential clearances are granted by the contractor himself. ^E However, a "pilot program" is now in operation, under which the government is processing a certain number of confidential clearances, presumably to determine what costs and time would be required if it were to assume responsibility for all of them. Secret and Top Secret clearances can be obtained by the contractor only through his

cognizant military department. At each level, prior to instituting the clearance procedure, the contractor must employ the man who is to have access and determine that he has the "need-to-know."

B. Confidential Clearance.

Clearance by the contractor for access to Confidential information is based on "a determination that the individual's employment records are in order as to United States citizenship[✓] and that there is no information known to the Contractor which indicates that the employee's access to "Confidential" information is not clearly consistent with the interests of National security."


The Department of Defense regulations do not provide for any governmental standard for or official supervision of the procedures followed by private contractors in granting this clearance; nor is it required that any report be made to the government of the persons cleared by private contractors. Nor is an employer who denies a Confidential clearance required to notify either the employee or the government of the denial.[✓] Once a contractor has granted a Confidential

clearance he may not revoke it. It may only be revoked through the Industrial Personnel Security Board system. A contractor who denies a confidential clearance is not required to notify either the employee or the government of the denial.

C. Secret and Top Secret Clearance

The government machinery for granting Secret and Top Secret clearances is set in motion by the contractor's application for an employee's clearance. After employing a man and determining that he has the "need-to-know," the contractor then submits a completed "Personnel Security Questionnaire" and fingerprint card to his cognizant military department.

When the industrial security office of the cognizant military department receives a request for a Secret or Top Secret clearance, it forwards the Personnel Security Questionnaire and fingerprint card to its intelligence department for investigation. The intelligence department does not evaluate; its sole function is to gather information. The investigative requirement for a Secret clearance is a "National Agency Check." This consists of

checking the files of eight governmental agencies, including the FBI, the intelligence divisions of the military departments, and the Central Index files of the Industrial Personnel Security Program.  Top Secret clearance requires a "Background Investigation," which includes a check of the eight agencies plus a "thorough and complete investigation in which pertinent facts having a bearing on the integrity, reputation and loyalty to the United States of the subject are inquired into." Under both the National Agency Check and the Background Investigation, the discovery of information tending to show that the man should be denied clearance will lead to an extension of the inquiry for the purpose of substantiating or refuting the derogatory information.

When the appropriate investigation has been completed, the information is forwarded to the military department's regional industrial security office for evaluation. If that office finds the information inadequate, it can return the file to have specified areas expanded. Once the report is deemed satisfactory, the evaluating panel in the security office examines it to see whether the

134

individual should be granted clearance. If it decides he should be cleared the office issues to the contractor a "Letter of Consent" to the man's access to the requested category of classified material. If, however, the evaluating board feels that the man is or may be a "security risk," it must send a recommendation of denial, together with the complete investigative file, to the Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review in Washington. When the recommendation of denial has been forwarded, the case is out of the hands of the military department, except as one of the arms of the Office of Personnel Security Review may request further investigation of certain areas.

The Office of Industrial Personnel Security Review then assigns the case to its Screening Board. ^I The Screening Board consists of as many three member panels as the caseload requires. The members of the panels being appointed by the secretaries of the three military departments. Members can be military or civilian.

The Screening Board panel may in its discretion have written interrogatories sent to the employee or have a

74
personal interview arranged before it decides the case. It may, however, decide the case on the basis of the military file without contacting the employee. In reaching its determination, the Screening Board considers the entire record in light of the standard and the criteria and determines whether clearance should be granted. If the panel decides unanimously that clearance should be granted, the case is returned to the military security office with instructions to issue a Letter of Consent. In this event, the contractor will never have been notified of the existence of any charges which have been made against his employee. If even one member of the panel thinks clearance should be denied, the employee is sent notice of the charges against, as detailed as security considerations will permit, and a statement of his right to appeal. ✓
The contractor at this point is notified that the man is to be denied access to all classified material, but no reasons for the denial of clearance are given to the employer. ✓

If the employee decides to appeal a denial of clearance, he may either submit a written brief or demand an oral hearing.

A hearing must be granted if requested. The hearings are held before regional Hearing Boards, composed of three man panels. ✓ As in the case of the Screening Board, the members of the Hearing Boards are appointed by the Secretaries of the three military departments. One member of each panel must be a civilian. "Hearings are not to be conducted with the formality of a court proceeding but rather as administrative inquiries held for the purpose of affording the person concerned an opportunity to be heard and to permit the Board to inquire fully into matters related to the particular case." Hearings are closed to the public. Verbatim transcripts are made and a copy provided to the employee on request.

The hearing panel makes its determination on the basis of the "complete file, including all evidence, arguments and briefs in the case" In applying the standard and criteria the panel is directed to take into account the fact that the employee may have been handicapped by the non-disclosure to him of classified information and his inability to identify or cross-examine confidential informants.

16.

The hearing panel's decision--which must include a fairly detailed opinion and a dissenting opinion if the decision is not unanimous--is sent to the Director of Industrial Personnel Security Review in Washington. He may remand a unanimous decision for further action if the record is defective or announce it as final. The Director must forward all non-unanimous decisions to the Review Board, ~~and~~ ^W he may also send to that board a unanimous decision presenting "novel issues or unusual circumstances." The Review Board reviews each case submitted to it on the written record and makes its decision by majority vote in accordance with the standard and criteria. Its decision then is announced by the Director and is final subject to (1) reconsideration on its own motion, or at the request of the employee or the Secretary of Defense or of any of the three military departments or (2) reversal by the Secretary of Defense or by the secretaries of the three military departments acting jointly. ~~W~~

111. THE PROGRAM IN ACTION

About 2,000,000 employees in 18,000 defense facilities have been officially cleared for access to classified information through the machinery of the Industrial Personnel Security Program. But the study indicated that the program has indirectly affected far more people than these figures indicate. Among the employers interviewed the ability to pass a security check has become a condition of employment for many jobs which may never involve access to classified information. Some of these consider it necessary that their employees be capable of transfer to any area of their plant and therefore require that all employees meet the requirements for confidential clearance. Others require that all employees, including those who will never need access, meet the standard for clearance, because they feel it would be impractical to attempt restriction of uncleared workers to non-sensitive areas of the plant. Security-minded hiring was even found in one plant which had never performed a classified contract, because the management anticipated a possibility that such a contract might be awarded in the future.

Both in performing confidential clearances and in selecting employees to submit for higher clearances, contractors are necessarily influenced by the action which they plan to take in the event that an employee is denied clearance. Therefore the consequences of a denial of clearance will be set forth at the outset of the discussion of contractor practices.

The government's regulations require merely that an employee found to be a security risk be denied access to classified material. One section of the regulations specifically provides that ". . . the denial or revocation of a clearance . . . does not preclude [an employee's] participation in unclassified work." Nevertheless, about three-fourths of the contractors interviewed refuse to hire or or discharge every man found to be a security risk. They offered a number of reasons for this practice.

First, a contractor doing nothing but classified work said he had no choice but to fire a man who cannot be cleared. Several contractors said that although they have unclassified work such a man could do, they consider it impractical to keep an employee who must be confined to

the limited, unclassified areas of the plant. Second, derogatory information bearing on an employee's "suitability" for access to classified material--such as a criminal record or a reputation for drunkenness or homosexuality--was said to bear equally on his fitness for employment under ordinary personnel policies. Third, some employers said they fire or refuse to hire the man who cannot clear for loyalty reasons because they consider him a potential saboteur. And finally, two contractors said--referring to the employee whose loyalty is suspect--"we just don't want him around."

A. Confidential Clearances.

1. Employer Investigative Practices.

The employer's only contractual duty with respect to confidential clearances is to determine that his employee's record properly shows his United States citizenship and that he knows nothing about the employee which would indicate that granting access would not be "clearly consistent with the interests of National security." ✓

It would seem that an employer could satisfy his contractual duty without making any security investigation of employees. All

employers interviewed, however, conducted at least a cursory security-oriented inquiry into the backgrounds of men to whom they desired to grant confidential clearances.

The employer's inquiry normally begins with the employment application form. All but one of the government contractors interviewed include in their application forms questions designed to reveal whether an applicant is a security risk. There are questions relating both to the applicant's "suitability" and his loyalty. In addition, several employers said they asked security-oriented questions of job applicants during the customary pre-hiring interview. The usefulness of both the written and oral questions was said to be limited because applicants rarely disclose in their answers information which would disqualify them. However, should derogatory information later be uncovered, falsification of the application form will constitute convenient ground for discharge.

All employers interviewed conduct some type of inquiry beyond the application form. In the majority of companies this investigation takes place

after a man is hired. Employers gave several reasons for hiring a man before investigating him. First, there is usually an immediate need for the applicant's services and he can properly be granted access to confidential information without having been investigated. Further, one security officer in the aircraft industry made the point that there is stiff competition for skilled labor and that to postpone hiring a man until after an investigation is completed may mean losing him to a competitor who is willing to hire him immediately. Finally, experience in these companies has shown that the danger of hiring first and investigating later is slight because in most cases no derogatory information is turned up by the investigation.

Pending completion of the investigation, an employee is either put to work on unclassified material or allowed to do confidential work on an interim or temporary basis.

The post-hiring investigative practices were found to vary widely both in degree and kind. At one end of the scale are companies where security investigation is

32

merely a secondary duty of the personnel manager. Investigation by these companies consists of sending a form letter to prior employers inquiring about the employee's character and loyalty. Several companies supplement this cursory investigation with form letters of inquiry to police departments in areas where the employee says he has lived. A few employers conducting this type of investigation said prior employers tend to be uncommunicative, perhaps because of fear of libel actions. ✓ Some police departments will inform an employer of what information they have on file concerning the employee. However, other departments, particularly those in larger cities have formulated a policy of not replying, apparently because employer inquiries have become too burdensome.

Further up the scale are companies which employ private commercial agencies to obtain security information. These agencies are of two types. One type of agency is that which maintains "subversive files." ✓ These files, it was reported, contain such items as clippings from Communist and Communist-front publications, records of petitions sponsored by

organizations branded subversive, records of registered Communist voters and reports of congressional and state legislative investigating committees. Employers using their services said these agencies make no attempt to evaluate the bearing of information on an employee's loyalty. One such agency was said by an employer not to evaluate the reliability of its sources of information. About one-third of the employers interviewed used one of these services exclusively or as a supplement to other investigative devices.

The second type of agency is that which is in the business of making credit and personnel reports and which can be hired to make special character-loyalty investigations. Such an investigation parallels the agency's ordinary employment check except that additional information relevant to loyalty is sought. About one-third of the employers used the services of such a commercial credit agency. Many of them said that they would do so in the absence of security considerations but presumably without seeking loyalty information. ✓

Those contractors interviewed who carry on the most extensive investigative

program have established relatively elaborate security departments to handle all aspects of personnel and plant security. In many plants these departments are headed by former FBI men. Two interviewees said they felt that many sources of information are open to these trained career-investigators that would be closed to the ordinary personnel manager. Through close contacts with local police departments, for example, they often can get data from the files of police departments throughout the country. In one area studied, it was reported that these security officers maintain informal contact to exchange derogatory information on job applicants moving from one plant to another.

Why do contractors conduct security investigations although they are not required by their government contracts to do so? In view of the latitude accorded to employers in granting or denying Confidential clearances, it seems fair to infer that the government believes material classified as Confidential does not call for extremely rigorous protection. Many employers tended to agree. ^S In fact a substantial number of the contractors

interviewed grant employees "interim confidential clearances" and permit access to Confidential material before any investigation has been made. Thus, among the employers studied, a desire or felt pressure to safeguard Confidential information was apparently not the primary motive for investigations.

A number of employers said that their present investigations amounted to little or no more than the employee screening they would carry on for their own purposes. This was true both of the employer, who, for example, has merely added a question on past subversive affiliations to his application form, and of the Southern California aircraft plant which had a well-developed security system--a product of World War II--prior to the establishment of the present Industrial Personnel Security Program.

Factors employers mentioned as leading them to investigate their employees more or less thoroughly roughly paralleled some of the reasons they gave for firing or refusing to hire security risks. Thus the variations in the extent of investigations may relate to different attitudes as to the

importance of keeping the alcoholic, the pervert, the potential saboteur or the troublemaker off the payroll;

It should not be concluded, however, that the industrial security program has not affected the development of employer investigative practices. The interviews disclosed a desire on the part of most employers to do the best security job possible within their resources, although their reasons were not cleanly articulated. Patriotism is probably one of the inarticulated reasons. Another may be the desire to please government officials.

2. Employer Application of the Government Standard to Derogatory Information.

The broad governmental standard for determining who should not be granted access to classified material gives employers a wide discretion in evaluating derogatory information in individual cases. In discussing employer evaluative standards it is useful to distinguish between information as to an employee's "suitability" and information bearing on his loyalty.

Suitability.--The bulk of derogatory information uncovered by contractor investigation bears on suitability rather than

loyalty. Suitability refers to such characteristics as homosexuality, bad credit background a criminal record, which are believed by the government substantially to increase the chances that an employee might be coerced or bribed into compromising classified information. Wholly apart from the security program, these facts are, of course, relevant considerations in judging the fitness of any job applicant or employee. In determining what constitutes a security risk employers interviewed tended to rely on their ideas of what constitutes a poor employment risk.

Among the contractors studied, ideas as to what constitutes a poor employment risk varied widely, depending on individual attitudes toward human nature and willingness to take a chance in doubtful cases. For example, a criminal record concealed on the application form would lead to denial of clearance and automatic dismissal in most of the firms studied. One contractor reported, however, that in the only two instances when he was confronted with this problem he retained and granted confidential clearances to men who had not disclosed criminal pasts, in the belief that they were making sincere efforts to become

good citizens.

Loyalty.--Derogatory information bearing on loyalty seldom turns up. One of the employers interviewed had never faced the problem of evaluating it, and others could recall only one or two instances. Thus most contractors interviewed did not have settled evaluative policies in this area. Some experienced security officers said, however that ordinary personnel managers, not accustomed to handling information which raises loyalty questions, tend to be overly-cautious when they discover it. They said the inexperienced evaluator does not know what weight to give to information that, for example, an employee was once a member of an organization on the Attorney General's list and that he therefore tends to resolve all doubts against the employee. Illustratively, one personnel manager said that generally no one who attended a particular eastern university in the 1930's could get by a security check "since it was so loaded then." The experienced security officers said their own evaluative standards are less strict, more realistic. On the other hand, one security officer who has worked in the field for many years though not as

an investigator, said the ex-FBI type of security officer, trained in investigation rather than judging, is poorly fitted for the job because he tends to be overly-cautious.

3. Employer action after finding an employee is a security risk.

It has been pointed out that men are usually hired before their security investigations are completed. When an employer of the group studied determines that an employee is a security risk, he will usually discharge the man. The uniform practice among the employers interviewed is not to tell the employee the real reason for the firing. In some companies, no reason at all is given if the discharge comes before the employee is entitled to union protection under the collective bargaining agreement. ✓✓ "If reasons are felt necessary," one contractor commented, "no man is perfect, so grounds can be found." One of the reasons commonly given to the employee was failure to report on his application form the information discovered by the employer.

One employer said that his motive in not giving security as a reason for firing a man (or refusing to hire him) is to avoid

putting such a serious blot on his record. The impression was gathered that in most cases there is a combination of this factor and the desire to avoid the publicity which security discharges are likely to provoke.

No appeal lies from a contractor denial of a confidential clearance. Therefore firing an employee on the basis of derogatory information before he has been granted a clearance does not deprive the employee of any of the safeguards provided by the government.

It is quite another matter when an employer fires for security reasons an employee who has once been cleared. The government has made its machinery the exclusive means for revoking a Confidential clearance; the contractor is not authorized to take away the clearance he has granted. The proper procedure is for the employer to report the derogatory information which he thinks warrants revocation to his cognizant military department. The military department will then process the employee's record and if it feels the clearance should be revoked will pass the case up to the board system where the employee will be afforded an opportunity to be heard.

But a majority of the employers and military officials interviewed said this procedure is not ordinarily followed. Here also, it was found that the general practice is to discharge the employee, and, again, not to tell him the real reason for the discharge. ^W This is so both in the comparatively rare instances when derogatory information is discovered after a permanent clearance has been granted and in the more numerous instances where an employee has been granted access to confidential material pending investigation under an interim confidential clearance.

With one exception among the companies studied, ^W employers regarded themselves as free to revoke the clearance of an employee granted access pending investigation. It could be argued that the ban on employer revocation of clearances applies equally to interim and permanent clearances, although the regulations do provide that interim clearances can be withdrawn pending completion of the investigation without resort to the government boards. But in practice the difference between interim and permanent clearances is no more than academic. In both cases the government

process is by-passed because no effort is made to have the clearance revoked but rather the employee is fired on other grounds.

To explain this practice; employers pointed to the slowness of the government revocation procedure. The military departments have an emergency power to deny access but this power was said to be exercised only in extreme situations which rarely arise. As a further explanation, one security officer said he often would not wish to disclose his sources of information to the government and expressed the fear that even if he did so their evidence probably would not satisfy a government board.

B. Secret and Top Secret Clearances

Authorization for a man to have access to Secret and Top Secret materials can only be granted by the government. At first blush it seems that the employer would simply request a man's clearance and then await the government's determination. It was found, however, that there are three points in the government proceedings where the employer must decide

independently which of several courses of action to follow. The three decisions around which employer practices have grown up are: (1) which employees to submit for Secret or Top Secret clearance; (2) whether to retain in unclassified work or fire an employee denied clearance by the Screening Board, and (3) whether, if an employee was fired upon denial of clearance by the Screening Board, to rehire him if he successfully appeals to the Hearing Board.

1. Selection of Employees for Secret or Top Secret Work

Pending a Secret or Top Secret clearance an employee cannot be granted access to material classified higher than confidential.

The minimum time required to obtain a Secret clearance was reported to be about four months. In a substantial number of cases such a clearance requires six months to a year. Since the man was purportedly needed for Secret or Top Secret work at the time the request for his clearance was submitted, there is a costly time gap

between the need for and use of the employee. Several employers indicated they attempt to minimize this costly delay by taking into account, in hiring or promoting a man to do highly-classified work, not only his ability but also whether in their estimation (1) he will eventually be cleared by the government, and (2) he will be cleared as quickly as other available men.

These employers said they feel that they can predict accurately that certain men will not clear through the Screening Board. The basis for this prediction is information gathered in the Confidential clearance. All employers interviewed clear a man for Confidential before requesting a higher clearance. They said they know that certain types and quantities of derogatory information almost invariably result in denials of clearance by the Screening Board and that they will usually not submit for clearance a man as to who ^{or} they have developed such information. Some employers said further that even if they have substantial doubts about a man's ability to clear, rather than risk a costly denial they will not submit him; the shortcomings of their information-gathering processes

prevent them from predicting accurately that an employee will clear.

A few employers also reported they can sometimes predict which of two men will take longer to clear through the Screening Board. These employers said that, other things being roughly equal, they would give preference to the man they think can clear most rapidly. Two factors were mentioned by employers as grounds for predicting extraordinary delays in the processing of men who would eventually clear. First, derogatory information on a man's record, even though insufficient to cause denial of clearance by either the Screening Board or the Hearing Board tends to prolong the time required for clearance. The second basis is wholly irrelevant to an employee's trustworthiness: A person who has lived in several places generally takes longer to clear than a person who has resided long in one place.

These employer selection practices obviously deprive some employees of the opportunity to have their qualifications for access to Secret or Top Secret material passed on by the government agency established for this purpose in proceedings

where they are assured of a hearing. However, the employers will continue the practices, will continue carefully to select the men they nominate for Secret and Top Secret clearances as long as the government machinery moves as slowly as it does. Men formerly associated with the government suggested that some of the slowness in the government process is unnecessary. ✓✓

2. Employer Action after Denial of Clearance by the Screening Board.


About two-thirds of the employers interviewed had experienced a denial of clearance by the Screening Board. Of these, a slight majority stated they discharged the man whose clearance was denied. They said they inform the employee that the denial is the reason for his being fired. The others said they try to keep the man at work on unclassified material. The employers who are most concerned about over-all plant security and required that all their employees be able to have access to Confidential information were found to be the most likely to fire the man whom the Screening Board has refused to clear. ✓✓

Only one employer said he assisted

employees to appeal to the Hearing Board through paying lawyers' fees. Most employers stated they try not to get involved in the appellate hearings.

3. Employer Action after Clearance Granted by the Hearing Board.

Reversals by the Hearing Board are apparently frequent. One interviewee--a former government security official said that about two-thirds of the cases that reach the Western Regional Hearing Board after a Screening Board denial result in clearance. Two factors were said to be largely responsible for this high percentage of reversals. First, the Hearing Board has the opportunity to see the employee, listen to his explanation and hear his witnesses and thus is in a better position to evaluate his credibility and character than the Screening Board. Second, the written notice of charges given to the employee by the Screening Board was said to be framed in vague terms, and most employees can only answer with an equally vague, general denial or explanation. The Hearing Board, however is able to get from the employee more specific denials or explanations.

All contractors interviewed whose practice is to fire an employee denied clearance by the Screening Board said they rehire him if the Hearing Board grants clearance and if he wants to come back.  Moreover, the government will reimburse him for lost wages. One employer said the employee as to whom the Screening Board acts unfavorably is suspended rather than fired so that he will retain his seniority rights in case of a successful appeal.

IV. CONCLUSIONS

The Industrial Personnel Security Program is apparently with us for a long time to come--at least as long as present international tensions continue; potentially, at least, it cuts a wide swath through American life. It is important that in its operation only those who are in fact "security risks" should be treated as such, both for the sake of the individual's freedom to earn his livelihood and for the most effective use of industrial manpower.

The government program represents an effort to strike a fair balance between the demands of security and individual rights. The program starts with the presumption that employees are loyal. Lower level agencies can grant clearances

but cannot finally deny them. The employee is guaranteed a hearing before a final denial.

But the program also has put private employers in a position where they frequently must make decisions affecting security and individual rights at a stage where the decisions are free of government supervision and out of the range of the safeguards the government has attempted to establish. Left at large in dealing with clearances for access to Confidential information, the employers studied have had to develop their own investigative practices--which may or may not satisfy the needs of security--and their own standards for evaluating derogatory information--which standards they tend to equate with their own notions of who is or is not a desirable employee. Logically enough, in view of that tendency, the employers customarily give effect to a determination that a man is a security risk by firing or refusing to hire him. And the very safeguards the government has written into the program, with their inevitable delaying effects, have contributed to forcing the employers interviewed to pre-screen the employees

for whom Secret and Top Secret clearances will be sought.

Whether full justice is being done either to security or individuals by the employer practices described is open to some question.

But it is not easy to find a solution. The government could assume the responsibility for Confidential clearances. In doing so, it would be desirable to provide a more summary procedure for granting such clearances than the present procedure for granting Secret and Top Secret clearances-- in order to minimize the pressure for pre-screening. In addition, the government would probably have to allow access to Confidential information pending investigation or plants doing all or nearly all classified work would be faced with an impossible hiring job. The "pilot program," as described in interviews, ^{was said to} involve both an investigation somewhat short of the National Agency Check and interim access. Such a broadening of governmental responsibility would result in a gain in security and in protection to the individual, but would the gain be sufficient to make the change worth-while?

As an alternative, the government could

41.
leave the employers primarily responsible for Confidential clearances but impose on them the duty of notifying their cognizant military agencies of any adverse action toward an employee or would-be employee taken on the basis of derogatory security information. The government would then make available to the employee its appellate process. There would be no necessary gain in security, but perhaps the individual would be better protected.

Finally, the government could depart from the principle of no-clearance-before-employment now embodied in the regulations and allow individuals to apply to an appropriate agency for something on the order of preliminary certificates of acceptability. An employer could hire a person bearing such a certificate with fair certainty that he would not ultimately be denied clearance by the government and that whatever derogatory information the employer's own investigation might turn up had been weighed and found wanting by a government agency. Whether there would be a gain in security from such a procedure would depend on the number of individuals who availed themselves of it and on the

extent of the government's preliminary investigation. The individual who has had or who anticipates trouble getting and keeping a defense job for security reasons would be well-served.

Mr. Nichols

December 8, 1955

M. A. Jones

**FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
DECEMBER 8, 1955**

SYNOPSIS:

On his program tonight, Mr. Lewis commented on observations by J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, and Representative Francis E. Walter, Chairman, House Committee on Un-American Activities, concerning the disavowal by Henry Ford II of the activities of the Fund for the Republic. He then quoted from Paul G. Hoffman, Chairman of the Board for the Ford Foundation, to the effect that the Fund for the Republic was performing a valuable task in enlightening the American public to the dangers of communism and safeguarding civil liberties. Mr. Lewis then discussed the Freedom Agenda program and required reading material for those participating in the program, which attacked the role of congressional committees in ^{the} security field. Mr. Lewis pointed out that the FBI and other investigative agencies are fact gatherers only and do not have the power or responsibility to protect the American people by taking action upon their findings. He stated that the Freedom Agenda pamphlet was slanted propaganda, rather than a fair appraisal and that if Paul Hoffman thought this was educating the American public, he was either stupid or dangerous and ^{possibly} probably both.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman

INDEXED-61

EX-126

NOT RECORDED
140 DEC 19 1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

RGE:nma

Pfe (8)

(100-391697)

60 DEC 21 1955

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 44-4-2189-55

December 8, 1955

DETAILS

Mr. Lewis devoted a major portion of his program tonight to a discussion of the Fund for the Republic. He noted the reaction of some public figures to the disavowal of Fund activities on the part of Mr. Henry Ford II and quoted J. Addington Wagner, National Commander of the American Legion, as saying, "It was reassuring to hear Henry Ford II question the judgment of the Fund," and added "In the opinion of the American Legion, Mr. Ford has made necessary and commendable move in the right direction." Mr. Lewis quoted at length from Representative Francis Walter of Pennsylvania, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, who said it was gratifying to learn that Henry Ford II is finally disturbed by some of the activities of the Fund for the Republic.

He pointed out that the Fund considers the Communist Party as a mere political party rather than an extension of the Soviet Union dedicated to the overthrow of the U. S. He made a parallel between this attitude and the Communist Party line which has sought to disarm the unwary and picture the communist conspiracy as a harmless political movement. According to Mr. Lewis, Mr. Walter said that future investigations by the House Committee on Un-American Activities will undoubtedly disturb Mr. Ford even more by disclosing evidence that the Fund deliberately intends to obstruct all investigations seeking to control the communist conspiracy and to strengthen thereby the forces bent on the overthrow of this Nation and its institutions.

On the other side, Mr. Lewis mentioned the reaction of Paul Hoffman, Chairman of the Board of the Fund for the Republic, who said today from Pasadena, California, "Anyone who will review the record of the Fund for the Republic will agree it has made important contributions through educational means." He enumerated these contributions as: (1) "The acquiring of knowledge which will assist us in fighting communism more effectively, (2) promoting understanding of the vital role which civil liberties have played in giving strength to our society, (3) help to bring about appreciation of the need for making a reality out of the goal of equality of opportunity through promoting better racial relations."

Mr. Lewis commented that it is hard to see how the compiling of a slanted bibliography on communism, for example, is of assistance in fighting communism more effectively. He said it is even harder to understand how these aims can be promoted by selecting Robert M. Hutchins as president of the Fund since he has stated under oath that he has never been a student of communism and knows very little about it and does not believe that communism is a clear and present danger in the U. S. Mr. Lewis also quoted W. H. "Ping" Ferry as stating in advance of these activities of the Fund that he proposed to demonstrate through the program

Memo to Mr. Nichols

December 8, 1955

that the threat of communism in the U. S. is a myth, and that he intended to "explode that myth."

Mr. Lewis then went back to his material of the previous night ^{about} before the Freedom Agenda program, which is being sponsored by the Fund for the Republic in cooperation with the League of Women Voters. He quoted from some required reading material for those who were to participate in the study of this program. He noted that the pamphlet claimed to be particularly concerned with the impact of congressional investigation on civil liberties. The pamphlet went on to state that there is no evidence of any substantial subversive activity having been uncovered by any of the three congressional committees inquiring into phases of communism in this country which were not already known to the Federal Bureau of Investigation, other counterintelligence agencies or subject to examination under the Government's Loyalty-Security Program. Mr. Lewis noted that this is misleading inference, inasmuch as knowledge on the part of the FBI and the other agencies is no insurance of protection against the individuals whom they know to be subversive, because none of those agencies has the power to act on its own responsibility. They are purely fact-gathering agencies in this regard. He pointed out that the Loyalty-Security Program would never have been put into effect at all except for those congressional investigations. Mr. Lewis summed

Mr. Lewis summed up observations by the pamphlet in question concerning the Loyalty-Security Program by showing that it alleged that any awareness on the part of our country concerning the danger of communism was brought about by the tensions of the cold war rather than the flamboyant outpourings of the committees. He quoted from the pamphlet as saying: "Many competent and impartial observers are agreed that the three committees have had an adverse effect on the morale of Government employees and on America's world reputation."

The pamphlet claimed that the "trials engaged in by the committees have led to procedural errors denying the traditional safeguards established by the Bill of Rights." The pamphlet claims that ^{the} the best witness only has an opportunity to answer the questions put to him and has no opportunity to cross-examine his questioners or their informants or to call witnesses in his defense. Mr. Lewis pointed out that the committee hearings are not trials and that the committees have no power to punish anyone except for contempt and that no committee has turned down a request to call witnesses on anyone's behalf. The pamphlet alleged that these activities of the committee have led to a distrust of all unusual and unconventional individuals, even in private life. Mr. Lewis denied that statement emphatically and said the only positive distrust engendered was distrust of communism. Mr. Lewis claims that this portion of the pamphlet is intellectual, ^{disloyal} ^{disonest} an extreme and a desperate attempt to soften the public with the idea that communism is just a political movement.

Memo to Mr. Nichols

December 8, 1955

Mr. Lewis posed for his listeners the question of whether this material could be considered a calm, unprejudiced appraisal of the situation as advertised or a slanted and doctinated piece of propaganda. Mr. Lewis commented that if this is Mr. Paul Hoffman's idea of enlightening the public on the dangers of communism, he is either admissibly stupid or extremely dangerous, and he may be both.

Mr. Nichols

December 14, 1959

M. A. Jones

Best Copy Available

SULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST - 1000 P.M.
12-14-59

Lewis broadcast of 12-14-59 continued with a discussion of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Lewis stated that this organization has operated a joint anti-communist campaign for Congress during recent elections. He stated that a letter of solicitation for the 1955 campaign is out which bears the signatures of Tedder Taylor and Sidney Seligson. The remainder of Lewis' broadcast was devoted to a discussion of the background of Taylor.

He stated that Taylor is forty-eight years old and usually uses the title of Brigadier General although he is not on active service. Lewis further stated that Taylor's Civil Service file contains a flag which means that he is barred from any employment in any branch of the U.S. Government because of an unresolved question of his loyalty. Lewis continued that Taylor is a graduate of Williams College and the Harvard Law School. He also did brief service in the Department of Interior in 1933, and in June, 1934, went to the Department of Agriculture. Lewis stated that during this period, the notorious Harold Ware call of the Communist Party was being operated. Lewis continued that it was from this call that communists found out the names and listed other agencies of the Government.

By 1941, according to Lewis, Taylor became General Counsel of the Federal Communications Commission under the "Islet" Chairman, Lawrence Fly. Lewis continued that this was just before Pearl Harbor and that the FCC was doing everything in its power, working night and day, to find out what spies and saboteurs to be ready to pick them up if the need arose. Lewis also continued that necessarily, the FCC had asked the Communications Commission for fifty special cards of some 250 licensed radio operators and employees of communications companies which the Communications Commission had in its possession. According to Lewis, the communists had made deep inroads into the communications companies during this period. Lewis stated that Taylor recommended, under date of October 31, 1941, that Fly recommend available the flying that cards to the FBI and that this recommendation was followed.

NOT RECORDED

Lewis continued that by 1942, Taylor received a commission in the Intelligence branch of the Army and that by 1944, he was a Brigadier General and Second Chief Prosecutor of cases of the FBI in an industrialists in the war crime

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 9-3-89 BY SP5/SJS/75/20

ORIGINAL FILED IN

Memorandum Jones to Nichols

December 14, 1955

trials. Lewis stated that Taylor loaded his staff with individuals of questionable backgrounds, many of whom were later exposed as having strong communist leanings. Lewis stated Judge Charles F. Weatherstone (phonetic), who presided over these trials, said that the prosecution had not evidenced high ideals.

Lewis stated that another Judge, Justice Curtis Drake (phonetic), of the Indiana Supreme Court, accused Taylor and his staff of hasty and ill-considered action by threatening witnesses and engaging in an unauthorized search of a defense attorney's home.

Lewis continued that after the trials were completed and Taylor returned to this country, he became the Chief Counsel for Harry Bridges of the Longshoremen's Union. Lewis also stated that Taylor was a leading member in the National Lawyers' Guild and a member of the Americans for Democratic Action. He stated that Taylor was a member of the National Lawyers' Guild in 1942 when he applied for his commission in the Army and listed his membership as such in his own handwriting.

Lewis completed his broadcast by stating that Taylor was the author of a book entitled "Grand Inquest" which is an attack on congressional investigations into communism and that it was distributed by the Fund for the Republic.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Boardman

✓ cc - Fund for the Republic (100-371697)

cc - National Committee for an Effective Congress (100-

FJH:af

(3)

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : MR. A. H. BELMONT *APW*

DATE: November 23, 1955

FROM : W. C. Sullivan *Wes.*SUBJECT: NATIONAL REVIEW *ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 88050/af*
A Weekly Journal of Opinion
Information Concerning (Central Research Section)

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

Enclosed is the first issue of the National Review. I think the Director would be interested in looking at it.

The persons sponsoring this journal are generally known to the Bureau. The Editor and Publisher is William F. Buckley, Jr., author of the widely controversial book: God and Man At Yale. Buckley made a brilliant scholastic record at Yale University and on graduating wrote this book to show the inroads that atheism and socialism were making among the faculty members at Yale. Editors of this journal are James Burnham, [redacted] Suzanne La Follette, Jonathan Mitchell and William S. Schlam. The Production Editor is [redacted] and the Washington Correspondent is [redacted].

Associates and Contributors include [redacted]

[redacted] Max Eastman, Medford Evans,

[redacted] Eugene Lyons, Frank S. Meyer, Gerhart Niemeyer, E.

[redacted] Morrie Ryskind, Freda Utley and [redacted].

A basic purpose of this journal is to present a sound conservative viewpoint on national affairs as a balance to such liberal and left-wing journals as The Nation, The New Republic, et cetera. It is pointed out that the sound conservative viewpoint has no voice, no vehicle of expression in this country as does the liberal and left-wing viewpoints, hence, the great need for this new type of journal.

An interesting "Publisher's Statement" appears on page 5. There is an Editorial comment on The Fund for the Republic on page 4. On page 25 there is an article on Robert M. Hutchins.

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED

It is believed that this journal and the writers connected with it may be of some value to the Bureau in its concern about The Fund for the Republic and in the Bureau's efforts to combat Communism generally.

Yesterday I attempted to get a second copy of this issue from different newsstands but was advised that none were available; that they were all sold out a few hours after being placed on the newsstands thereby exceeding all expectations of the interest of the public in this new journal and the number of copies that would be sold.

60 DEC 22 1955

2 DEC 9 1955

CENTRAL RESEARCH

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-48987-13

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 5, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
DECEMBER 5, 1955

110

Tolson	
Boardman	
Nichols	
Belmont	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

Fulton Lewis, Jr., in his broadcast this evening made only brief mention of the Fund for the Republic. He said that he had not yet received a reply to a recent telegram he had sent Robert Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic. In fact, Hutchins had not even acknowledged it. In this telegram, according to Lewis, he (Lewis) made mention of the thousands of dollars which the Fund was spending to distribute reprints of the Edward R. Murrow TV program concerning Robert Oppenheimer. Lewis, in his telegram, indicated that the Fund should also make available reprints of the recent interview on Meet the Press of Hutchins.

Lewis made derogatory mention of this interview saying, in irony, that it should be saved for posterity. He indicated that Hutchins had "wrestled with the angels" on the topic of hiring Communists.

Lewis then made mention of an editorial by William F. Buckley in the new magazine, "National Review," in which Buckley sets forth 7 specific actions of the Fund and asks Hutchins to answer. Lewis added that there was as little hope that Hutchins would answer this editorial as he would answer the telegram.

100-391647-1
NOT RECORDED

At the very end of his broadcast, ~~11/11/55~~ ^{12/11/55} that tomorrow night (December 6, 1955,) he would bring "a story of how a Senate Investigating Committee tried, after this series was well under way exposing the Fund for the Republic, to get the Fund for the Republic to conduct a considerable portion of its own investigative work on an inquiry into civil liberties and the Bill of Rights to the Constitution."

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman

2 DEC 6 1955

52 DEC 13 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-4-2119

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 8835 JST

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: November 25, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS BROADCAST
11-25-55

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Mr. Lewis stated that several weeks ago when the President, the Vice President and Speaker of the House, Rayburn, each appointed four members to a Commission to study the Government's Security System, the extreme liberal anti-anti-communists felt they were double-crossed. Lewis said that among the original promoters of such a Commission were the American Democratic Action (ADA) and the Fund for the Republic (Fund). These groups intended to pack any such Commission with their own men to insure the kind of report they wanted - that is, a report showing that the Security System is heinous, brutal and dangerous, an infringement of rights and built on guilt by association. The Fund went so far as to circulate a falsified copy of a statement by Senator Hubert Humphrey, which was printed in the Congressional Record without actually being delivered. The Fund called it a "Committee Report" which it was not. When the 12 members of the Commission were announced, it turned out to be a list of excellent and objective appointees, non-extremists who could be counted on to study the facts and reach an intelligent conclusion. Lewis praised the group on his broadcast at the time, he stated. He stated that now the new ADA "World" has come out deploring the appointees, charging that the liberals have been double-crossed and taken in. Lewis says this shows how the liberals work. When they learned that they could not have their stooges on the Commission, they blasted the whole idea which they had originally promoted.

Lewis says that these tactics should give rise to caution on the part of the citizens who have been taken in by the Fund. For example, he says that the Association of the Bar of the City of New York, which has been persuaded by the Fund to sponsor a \$100,000 study of the Security Program, should re-examine the project to which the Association has lent its name.

CC - Boardman

CC - Mr. Nichols

CC - Mr. Belmont

CC - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697)

17 DEC 6 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 7-31-89 BY 8832/STJ/af

64 DEC 9 1955

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 74-4-2118

Mr. Nichols

November 7, 1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
7:00 P.M., WHDC
NOVEMBER 7, 1955

Mr. Lewis reported that the New York Journal-American and all other Hearst newspapers from coast to coast on page one to-
carry a story under the by-line of [redacted] The Southern Regional Council (SRC) with headquarters in Atlanta, Georgia, and operating in twelve states with a \$240,000 grant from the Ford Fund for the Republic (FFR), has twenty-one persons on its Board of Directors who have pre-Communist affiliation records.

The SRC is the successor to the Southern Conference of Human Welfare, now out of business after having been cited by two Congressional Committees as subversive and a tool of the Communist Party (CP). The project which the SRC is conducting is described in the annual report of the FFR as being for the purpose of expanding community education in intergroup relations in twelve states utilizing a grant made by the FFR in May, 1954.

The story lists individuals with their subversive connections and includes the following:

[redacted] of SRC, sponsor of the American Civil Rights Congress which is designated by the Attorney General pursuant to Executive Order 10450.

Rufus E. Clements, Chairman, sponsor of the American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and others.

Charles S. Johnson, sponsor of American Committee for Protection of Foreign Born and others.

In New York City this afternoon at the headquarters of the FFR, Robert Maynard Hutchins and his right-hand man, W. H. "King" Perry, held a news conference attended by an assistant of Lewis. There were a dozen reporters there and Hutchins said bluntly that the Journal-American story is "incorrect and perfidious." He said he has known many of the persons listed for a long time and enumerated several of them. He has perfect confidence in them and would go bail for them

cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic (100-391697)

END:mf

(7)

NOV 14 1955

102100

November 7, 1955

at any time they asked. [] offered to document his story and Hutchins shrugged off the offer saying, "A document is merely a piece of paper." b6 b7c

Hutchins was quite defiant regarding Ames Landman, hired as public relations director for FFR shortly after Landman refused to answer questions from a Congressional Committee. Landman told Hutchins he had left the Communist Party in 1939. His job ended on November 1, 1955, with the FFR. Lewis stated Landman's story to Hutchins regarding CP membership was more than he had told the Congressional Committee.

Hutchins stated that the reason the Freedom Agenda Program grant of \$111,000 was awarded to the Carrie Chapman Memorial Foundation was that the FFR makes grants only to tax exempt organizations. Lewis described Hutchins as evasive in all of his answers.

Nine additional grants by the FFR since the annual report in May, 1953, were listed:

- \$5000 in the Mary Knowles Case which was turned down
- \$5000 to the YMCA in Berkeley, California, for "maintaining an open platform policy."
- \$150,000 to the Southern Regional Council
- \$200,000 to Vanderbilt University for legal reporting service on school integration cases
- \$15,000 to the Bureau of Social Sciences Laboratory of American University in Washington, D. C., for tabulation and analysis of questionnaires sent out by the Subcommittee on Constitutional Rights of the Senate Judiciary Committee
- \$25,000 to the Board of Social and Economic Relations of the Methodist Church for educational work in conferences on race relations
- Amount not listed to the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People Legal and Educational Fund
- \$5000 to the Association for Education in Journalism for a study of the feasibility of an objective appraisal of the performance of the press in the 1956 Presidential Campaign.

Lewis stated there would be more tomorrow night and that each grant merited a story. He only mentioned 2 of the 9 receivers of grants.

In conclusion, Hutchins advised while discussing the Landman and other cases that communism is of no concern if the individual has competence for the job.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

December 12,
1955

M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
DECEMBER 12, 1955

On his news broadcast this evening, Lewis made brief comment concerning the Ford Foundation and the Fund for the Republic. He reported the news item concerning the \$500,000,000 grant of the Ford Foundation to medical schools, colleges and hospitals and said this appeared as if to redeem itself of its previous transgressions. Nonprofit hospitals will receive \$200,000,000, various medical schools will receive \$90,000,000 and liberal arts and science colleges will receive the remaining \$210,000,000. He said this was the kind of expenditure of which Henry and Edsel Ford could be proud. He said actually the financial statement of the Ford Foundation carries a total asset of \$493,000,000 mostly in stocks, but that there is much more where this came from, and that the total represents the stocks when the Foundation was set up several years ago.

He said he learned Henry Ford was very disturbed when he returned from Europe several weeks ago and found many complaints about how money was being spent by the Fund for the Republic, and that this huge grant is certainly more worthy of the objectives of the Ford Foundation. He said if the rest of the money of the Ford Foundation had been spent on projects such as this, he, Lewis, would not have had to spend the last four months talking about the Fund for the Republic.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/912

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Fund for the Republic file 100-391697.

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
70 DEC 14 1955

LJH:afb:rcw

7)

50 DEC 14 1955

Office Memorandum UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson

DATE: December 9, 1955

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT: LEONARD S. ~~KENWORTHY~~

Tolson ☒
 Boardman ☒
 Nichols ☒
 Belmont ☒
 Harbo ☒
 Mohr ☒
 Parsons ☒
 Rosen ☒
 Tamm ☒
 Sizoo ☒
 Winterrowd ☒
 Tele. Room ☒
 Holloman ☒
 Gandy ☒

Former Solicitor General Abe Harris called. He represents the Science Research Association of Chicago. This is a very reputable firm which we know. They are putting out a series of pamphlets on foreign relations and are considering having Leonard S. Kenworthy, who formerly was with UNESCO, do one of the pamphlets. The pamphlets will be financed by the Ford Foundation. Harris was wondering if there was any lead we could give him as to the desirability or undesirability of utilizing Kenworthy.

After checking, I told Harris we had not investigated Kenworthy, that he no doubt would want to check with the State Department, that I had noted Kenworthy had written a pamphlet for the Fellowship of Reconciliation, a pacifist organization, which Harris would recall had caused considerable difficulty for the Department during the war years. Harris did recall the name of the organization.

LBN:gjm
 (4)

cc: Mr. Boardman
 Mr. Belmont.

100-391197-1

NOT RECORDED
 DEC 13 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
 HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
 DATE 8-3-89 BY 25857/28

16 DEC 13 1955

CRIM. REG.
 MAISON

50 DEC 16 1955

94 1-251-45

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols *[Signature]*

FROM : M. A. Jones *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC.

DATE: November 25,
1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

You will recall that Mr. Mohr's office expressed interest in having a couple of pages of background on the Ford Fund for the Republic to put in with the Director's budget material if you felt it was desirable.

There is attached a brief background memorandum concerning the Fund for the Republic, Incorporated, for transmittal to Mr. Mohr's office, attention Mr. Rogers.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-3-89 BY 20380751

Enclosure

cc - Mr. Rogers, Room 5505

DGE:mbk:rm

RECORDED - 64

EX-126

100-291697-317
24 DEC 20 1955

November 25, 1955

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

BACKGROUND:

The Fund for the Republic was authorized by the Trustees of the Ford Foundation in October, 1951. The Trustees concluded subsequently that a separate, independent corporation should be established with directors chosen because of their interest in civil liberties and their ability to make a contribution to increasing understanding of these basic rights. The Fund for the Republic was incorporated with its own Board of Directors in December, 1952. The Fund has assumed a completely independent status, and \$15,000,000 has been appropriated by the Ford Foundation to the Fund for the Republic.

The first head of the Fund was Paul Hoffman who acted as Chairman of its Board of Directors and still holds that position. In May, 1953, the Fund elected its first President, Clifford P. Case, presently Republican Senator from New Jersey. In June, 1954, Robert M. Hutchins was chosen to succeed Case as President of the Fund for the Republic.

OBJECTIVES:

According to the report of the Fund's President, Robert M. Hutchins, dated May 31, 1955, the objectives of the Fund include: (1) a desire to advance understanding of civil liberties; (2) the belief that the citizen should know what his rights are, what is happening to them, and that interest in civil liberties should be aroused; (3) to report information on the state of freedom as it exists today.

The Fund believes that the following matters need special attention: (1) a political party in this country has been identified with the "enemy" and those associated with it have come under suspicion as an imminent danger to the state; (2) the range of suspected persons has been enormously extended by resort to guilt by association; (3) evidence offered to show that man is a danger to American institutions has often been farcically remote; (4) the treatment of suspected persons in Congressional investigations and administrative hearings; (5) the propaganda that has tended to suppress nonconformity; (6) the political advantage gained by claiming others indifferent to the threat of Communism.

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

GMP:rm

(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 3-3-89 BY 208

ENCLOSURE

NOTE: See Jones-Nichols memo 11-25-55 captioned "The Fund for the Republic, Inc.," DGH:mbk:rm.

PROJECTS AND STUDIES SPONSORED
BY THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:

As of May 31, 1955, the Fund had spent approximately two and one-half million of the \$15,000,000 received from the Ford Foundation. In addition to direct grants to organizations the Fund has undertaken a number of projects which are planned or are being conducted by staff members or persons under contract to the Fund. These include studies of: (1) the Communist record;* (2) attitudes toward Communism and civil liberties; (3) Communist influence in American life; (4) loyalty-security programs; (5) cases in personnel security; (6) fear in education; (7) testimony relative to Communism; (8) blacklisting in the entertainment industry.

CRITICISM OF THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC:

Since its inception, the Fund for the Republic has been discussed by numerous well-known individuals including David Lawrence, George Sokolsky, Fulton Lewis, Jr., Walter Winchell, Representative B. Carroll Reece, Senator John W. Bricker, the National Commander of the American Legion, and editorial staffs of newspapers throughout the United States.

The majority of the criticism of the Fund has been on the basis of:

1. The Fund's assumption that the Communist Party, USA, is not a dangerous threat to the security of the United States but merely another political party akin to the Democratic and Republican parties;
2. The Fund's apparent interest in "investigating the investigators";
3. The Fund offers no solution to security problems;
4. The Fund's activities as a political and propaganda agency rather than as a tax-exempt foundation.
5. The similarity in many respects of the Fund's program to that of the Communist Party, thus indirectly aiding the aims and purposes of the Party.
6. The Fund's employment of many individuals who have a background of extreme left-wing liberalism and who have been affiliated with questionable organizations.

* completed

MISCELLANEOUS:

1. Robert M. Hutchins - Hutchins, former Chancellor of the University of Chicago and current President of the Fund, delivered a lecture in Beverly Hills, California, in December, 1953. In this lecture, among other things, Hutchins stated: "Today we are cursed by a tremendous glorification of the FBI. The only people we will believe are confessed spies and traitors..." He also stated: "I would not condemn a man because he belonged to an organization. The Communist Party may be in the hands of the Kremlin but it does not follow that everyone in the Communist Party is part of a conspiracy." He further stated in this lecture: "I do not feel that the Communist Party is as dangerous as professed. Some people take it for granted that just because a person is a member of the Communist Party, he is dangerous. This is not true."

2. Mary G. Knowles - Reliable sources have advised that Mary Knowles was a Communist Party member from 1944 to 1945, was secretary of the School Branch of the Communist Party in 1947, attended Communist Party meetings in 1948. In testifying before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1953, she invoked the Fifth Amendment. On June 22, 1955, the William Jeanes Memorial Library, Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, received a \$5,000 award from the Fund for its "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles" for hiring Knowles and refusing to discharge her despite the fact she invoked the Fifth Amendment. This award by the Fund has been criticized editorially as a "startling example of the sentimental approach to the security problem." In September, 1955, she refused to tell the Subcommittee whether she had ever been a Communist.

3. Anos Landman - Landman was engaged in part-time public relations work for the Fund. His job was completed and his employment terminated with the Fund on November 1, 1955. In 1955, he declined to answer questions before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee concerning his alleged former membership in the Communist Party. It is to be noted that in an affidavit sworn to before a State Department consular officer in September, 1953, Landman stated in part: "I became a member of the Communist Party in 1937 or 1938."

4. Earl Browder - Browder, the former head of the Communist Party, has been employed by Daniel Bell and Theodore Draper, who are preparing a history of the Communist movement in the United States for the Fund for the Republic. Browder reportedly serves as a source of information at a salary of \$3,600 per year which reportedly is paid by the Fund through Bell.

00 00

It is noted that Browder has refused to furnish information to Congressional committees or the FBI.

5. Bibliography on Communism - The Fund initiated a study of literature re Communism in the United States since 1919, and, as a result, published two lengthy volumes in 1955. These books have been distributed by the Fund to university, research and public libraries. The Fund's bibliography on Communism has been criticized because many anti-Communist items were not included. The Fund, on October 29, 1955, announced that they would revise these books.

6. [redacted] - [redacted] was among those engaged in the preparation of the bibliography on Communism. In January, 1952, when he was [redacted], [redacted] became mentally ill with violent tendencies and was committed to a Veterans Hospital [redacted] after sanity hearings and considerable publicity. He was discharged from the hospital in [redacted] and employed by the Fund a few months thereafter.

b6
b7c

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 24, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR., BROADCAST
DECEMBER 23, 1955

Tolson	✓
Boardman	✓
Nichols	✓
Belmont	✓
Harris	✓
Mohr	✓
Parsons	✓
Rosen	✓
Tamm	✓
Sizoo	✓
Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Holloman	✓
Gandy	✓

During this broadcast, Lewis referred to the conviction in New York City of nineteen "conscientious nonconformists" for their defiance of authorities in refusing to participate in a city-wide air raid test last May.

He stated the group notified city officials of their intentions to ignore the drill, then, instead of seeking shelter during the test, they marched with placards deploring war-like activities.

Lewis pointed out that the Ford Fund for the Republic supplied \$150,000 for the defense of this group, Hutchins contending their cause should be defended under the Constitution and Bill of Rights. Lewis called Hutchins' attitude "silly." Lewis compared the status of the conscientious nonconformists in society with that of polygamists, saying that if Hutchins supplied defense counsel for the nonconformists, he should furnish funds for the defense of polygamists and their views.

Lewis added that in advocating the defiance of law and order by furnishing money for their defense, Hutchins had cost the Fund for the Republic \$50,000 in overhead.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Room 4237 (Fund for the Republic File)

INDEXED - 115
RECORDED - 115

DEC 30 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/ab

CEM:age

(6)

36 JAN 5 1956

100-391697



THE AMERICAN LEGION

FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

VOL. NO. IV, NO. 24

DATE 1-3-89

BY SP8 BTJ/af

November 15, 1955

THE FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC, INC., PART II

On November 17, 1955, The American Legion National Commander J. ADDINGTON WAGNER declared that "The American Legion formally charges that by its action under its current direction, the Fund For The Republic renders comfort to the enemies of America." Speaking before an Indianapolis Chamber of Commerce Luncheon, WAGNER stated that The American Legion is "convinced that the Fund is doing evil work."

COMMANDER WAGNER stated:

"The Fund For The Republic has a 15 million-dollar principal fund which it apparently feels free to dispose of in any way that it wishes, without any tax accountability. We say that by virtue of its tax-exempt status, the American public acquires a legal and moral interest in how the Fund spends its money. I submit to you that by their own words and actions, the managers of the Fund For The Republic have clearly demonstrated that it is their intention to debunk what they consider to be the myth of the Communist menace in the United States."

"They say they are against communism, and in the next breath they say that the greatest danger to the country lies, not in communism, but in those whom they claim will cost us our freedom in the effort to destroy communism. In example of this, I quote from the Report of the Fund For The Republic dated May 31, 1955: 'A political party in this country has been identified with the enemy...It has appeared that the peril to the country could be dealt with only by methods that drastically departed from those which have characterized Anglo-American jurisprudence.' Incidentally, the Fund Report puts the word enemy in quotation marks as they use it."

WAGNER raised the question, "What projects do they see fit to finance?...There is the case of MRS. MARY KNOWLES. This lady was identified by HERBERT PHILBRICK, an undercover agent for the FBI, as a member of the Communist Party. Before a Senate investigating Committee she refused to testify on the grounds of constitutional privilege. When her employer, the William Jeanes Memorial Library, of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania, declined to fire her for her action, the Fund For The Republic took the amazing action of granting the Library the sum of \$5,000 for, as they termed it, 'courageous and effective defense of democratic principles'."

"At the moment I do not argue whether this lady should be fired from her job. But that the Fund should give money for such a purpose defies my comprehension. I am not aware that they have offered grants to persons like HERBERT PHILBRICK for his courageous and effective efforts to preserve democratic principles."

COPYRIGHT 1955 BY THE AMERICAN LEGION

REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR PART WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION IS PROHIBITED

50 DEC 29 1955

file 100-391697

LIARSON

WAGNER declared:

"According to its annual report of May 31, 1955, the Fund has made, and I quote: 'an expanded version of the television film of EDWARD R. MURROW'S interview with J. ROBERT OPPENHEIMER available to educational institutions and groups concerned with public affairs'. They spent money for this, and the film was shown in many schools. The interview was a clear attempt to show OPPENHEIMER to be a victim of character assassination due to anti-Communist hysteria. We ask why, in fairness to both sides of the question, the film did not report the mass of evidence laid bare by the Special Board of the Atomic Energy Commission, which shows DR. OPPENHEIMER'S record to be tangled skein of Communist association and doubtful conduct, much of which the Doctor himself did not deny." (See "The Firing Line", 5-1-55, page 47).

COMMANDER WAGNER declared that "it has recently been revealed that the Fund is paying a salary to MR. EARL BROWDER, former head of the Communist Party of the United States, for information which he is providing, as an expert on Communism (which he most assuredly is), in connection with a Fund Project. So that now we have a privately endowed, tax-exempt fund, paying money to a man for information on the very same subject on which he as repeatedly refused to testify before Congressional Committees and on which he has repeatedly refused to cooperate with the Federal Bureau of Investigation."

"On the basis of these and other available examples, The American Legion believes that the Bureau of Internal Revenue should study the activities of the Fund, and determine whether it qualifies for tax-exempt status. This brings me to the question of just who is responsible for the direction which the activities of the Fund has taken. On the basis of our evaluation of the record, the principal direction emanates from DR. ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS, the President of the Fund, and from MR. W. H. FERRY, the Vice President."

"DR. ROBERT MAYNARD HUTCHINS' record (See "The Firing Line", 9-15-55, pages 91 and 92) shows a wilful refusal to consider Communism as anything more than a political ideology. As late as July of this year, DR. HUTCHINS hired as the Fund's press agent a man named AMOS LANDSMAN, who had, three weeks before his employment by the Fund, repeatedly pleaded the Fifth Amendment before a Senate investigating Committee when asked whether he was, or ever had been a Communist."

"In reply to questions from the press, DR. HUTCHINS reportedly said that MR. LANDSMAN was not now a Communist and had left the Party in 1939. He said that he had taken MR. LANDSMAN'S word that this was true. This was more information, apparently, than MR. LANDSMAN was prepared to give to the United States Senate. In an interview with the press on November 7 of this year -- it is reported DR. HUTCHINS said that he would not hesitate to hire a present member of the Communist Party to do a job which he was qualified."

WAGNER declared that the "record of DR. HUTCHINS, and the record of The Fund For The Republic under his direction, is replete with evidence that he does not believe Communism is a clear and present danger in this country, and that he is more interested in opposing Communism's enemies than in opposing Communism."

THE FUND'S TELEVISION PROJECT

According to the May 31, 1955 Report of The Fund For The Republic, Inc., page 29, the Fund has appropriated \$75,000 for awards for outstanding original drama and documentary scripts on civil liberties themes. JULIEN BRYAN, documentary film producer, was selected by the Fund as a script contest judge, according to an announcement which appeared in "Variety" of September 14, 1955.

In 1933, BRYAN was listed as an endorser of the National Committee Friends of the Soviet Union, which was a forerunner of the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. During the year 1936, BRYAN gave an illustrated lecture at Washington High School in New York, under the auspices of "Soviet Russia Today," a now defunct Communist-front publication. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, page 758; HUAC, Hearings Regarding Hanns Eisler, 1947, page 169; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 150).

That same year, the "Washington Times" editorially criticized the production of "Communist approved films" by the March of Time. "The pictures were said to have been photographed in Russia by JULIEN BRYAN, a professional lecturer on Soviet Russia, and a member of the National Committee of the Communistic Friends of the Soviet Union in 1933." He was an Executive Director of the International Film Foundation, Inc., which promoted film plays on Russia, and was listed as a "guide or tour conductor to the Soviet Union". BRYAN'S name also appeared as a leader of a seminar in the "Intourist Bulletin" of March 1, 1939, which was a publication of Intourist, Inc., "the Soviet State Tourist Co." (See HUAC, Hearings Regarding Hanns Eisler, 1947, pages 168 and 169).

BRYAN was listed as a lecturer on behalf of the now defunct Communist periodical "New Masses" during the year 1937. A national circulated weekly journal of the Communist Party, "New Masses" has been officially cited as "Communist" by the United States Attorney General. (See HUAC, Hearings Regarding Hanns Eisler, 1947, page 168; HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 142; and "The Firing Line", 4-1-54, pages 4 and 5).

EMERGENCY CIVIL LIBERTIES COMMITTEE

The Fund For The Republic also reported that it had distributed thousands of reprints of the "New York Times Magazine" article entitled "To Insure The End Of Our Hysteria" by PAUL G. HOFFMAN to the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee of 421 Seventh Avenue, New York City. (See "Report of The Fund For The Republic", May 31, 1955, page 42).

Fully exposed and documented in the April 15, 1955 issue of "The Firing Line", the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee currently maintains on its letterhead names of many individuals who have been identified as members of the Communist Party, U.S.A. and long supporters of the Communist front apparatus.

ANOTHER PROJECT COMMITTEE

HELEN M. LYND, Professor of Social Philosophy, Sarah Lawrence College, is currently listed as a member of the Advisory Committee of the Fund's Study Project called "Study of Fear in Education". (See "Report

of The Fund For The Republic", May 31, 1955, page 39).

HELEN LYND has been affiliated with 9 organizations which are cited as subversive. In 1941, she sponsored the Fifth National Conference of the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, and the same year signed a call to the Fourth Congress of the League of American Writers. In 1940, HELEN LYND was listed as a Director of the League of Women Shoppers, Inc., a now defunct Communist-inspired, dominated and controlled consumer organization. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 354, 974 and 1008; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 73).

HELEN LYND has been affiliated with the American League For Peace and Democracy and was listed as an Executive Board member of the American Committee To Save Refugees in 1940. The same year, she signed an appeal on behalf of SAM DARCY, Communist Party leader, under the auspices of the National Federation For Constitutional Liberties. HELEN LYND was a National Sponsor of the Joint Anti-Fascist Refugee Committee and also sponsored the Consumer-Farmer Milk Cooperative, Inc. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 357, 391, 974, and 1777; California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee On Un-American Activities, 1948, page 271).

A sponsor of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace in 1949, HELEN LYND also sponsored the Stockholm Appeal of the Stockholm Peace Petition. She was listed as a "Communist Fellow-traveler who has been writing textbooks for use in Public Schools" by the California Legislature in 1948. (See HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, 1949, page 59; HUAC, Report of the Communist Peace Offensive, 1951, page 131; and California Legislature, Fourth Report of the Senate Fact-Finding Committee On Un-American Activities, 1948, page 199).

THE FUND'S COMMISSION ON RACE AND HOUSING

According to the Report of The Fund For The Republic dated May 31, 1955, page 19, GORDON W. ALLPORT, Professor of Psychology, Harvard University and CHARLES S. JOHNSON, President, Fisk University, are members of the Fund's Commission On Race and Housing. The names of ALLPORT and JOHNSON should be very familiar to Firing Line readers.

ALLPORT, a 1954 member of the United States National Commission For UNESCO, has been affiliated with 6 subversive organizations. Part of his record was exposed in the November 15, 1954 issue of the Firing Line, page 4. ALLPORT signed an Open Letter on behalf of the National Committee To Repeal The McCarran Act in 1953. (See "Daily Worker", 11-3-53, page 8; Letterhead, 1954).

CHARLES S. JOHNSON has been affiliated with the following subversive organizations: World Youth Conference, American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born, National Federation For Constitutional Liberties, Southern Conference For Human Welfare and the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 348, 1246 and 1585; HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, 1949, page 58 and Leaflet). JOHNSON was an Incorporator of the Southern Regional Council of 63 Auburn Avenue, N.E., Atlanta, Georgia. The Fund For The Republic's \$245,000 appropriation to the Southern Regional Council will be thoroughly exposed in a future issue of The Firing Line. JOHNSON'S record appears in the December 15, 1954 issue of The Firing Line, page 7. (See Letterheads, 1955 and "The New York Times", 10-17-55).



THE AMERICAN LEGION FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year

VOL. NO. IV, NO. 23

November 1, 1955

COMMUNISM IN THE ENTERTAINMENT INDUSTRY

Since 1935, the Communist Party, U.S.A. has made a concerted effort to infiltrate our motion picture, radio and television industries. Through the media of public hearings conducted by the House Committee On Un-American Activities and the Internal Security Subcommittee, the American people have learned that this conspiratorial infiltration has been very successful. These public disclosures have revealed the startling fact that several hundred individuals working in the entertainment industry as studio workers, script writers, actors, actresses, producers and directors have been positively identified as disciplined members of the Communist Party.

Fortunately, some of these individuals have since broken with the Communist conspiracy and have successfully rehabilitated themselves by giving testimony and helpful information to Congress and the general American public, relative to their experience and associations in the Communist Party.

A long supporter of Congressional investigations and exposures of Communists and subversives in the entertainment field, The American Legion reaffirmed its position by unanimously passing Resolution No. 13 (California) at its 37th Annual National Convention held in Miami, Florida, October 10-13, 1955. This important Resolution entitled "Subversive Activities In The Entertainment Field Be Exposed" is as follows:

"WHEREAS, certain moving picture theaters, legitimate stage, radio and television industries continue to employ members of the entertainment field who have never disavowed their association with communistic organizations, and

"WHEREAS, a number of these entertainers have invoked the 5th amendment in refusing to discuss their past associations before Congressional committees, now

"THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, by The American Legion in 37th Annual National Convention assembled in Miami, Florida, October 10-13, 1955, that The American Legion instruct the Americanism Commission to continue its drive to rid the field of entertainment of all Red propaganda and those who support it, and to do its utmost to inform the American public that records of those in the entertainment field who have aided and abetted subversion are available in the various Congressional hearings which may be obtained from the Superintendent of Documents in Washington, D. C., and be it

"FURTHER RESOLVED, that The American Legion urge the American public to refuse to support at the box office these entertainers who have never made a clean break from their communistic associations, and

COPYRIGHT 1955 BY THE AMERICAN LEGION.
REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR PART WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION IS PROHIBITED

100-391697- ENCLOSURE

"BE IT FURTHER RESOLVED, that The American Legion urge American business firms to provide in their contracts with such persons or with their employment agency that such contracts may be terminated when evidence is discovered of this continuing affiliation with such organization."

In compliance with this Convention Mandate, the National Americanism Commission has prepared and consolidated the following list of some individuals in the entertainment industry who have been identified as members of the Communist Party before the House Committee On Un-American Activities:

ALBERT, Sam (Musician) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A & B).
ALEXANDER, Harmon (Hy) (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); and Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B).
ALLEN, Louis (ALLAN, Lewis) (Playwright) - Identified by Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).
ALTMAN, Mischa (Musician) - Identified by David Raksin, 1951 (A).
AMES, Robert (Craft Worker) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).
AMSTER, Lou (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Urcel Daniel, 1952 (A).
BABB, Sonora (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A) and George Bassman, 1952 (A).
BACKUS, Georgia (Mrs. Hy Alexander) (Actress) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952, (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B) Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).
BARRIE, Lee (Singer) - Identified by Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).
BARZMAN, Ben (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); George Glass, 1952 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).
BARZMAN, Sol (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).
BEARD, Cecil (Cartoonist) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).
BECKER, Leon (Musician) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).
BEIN, Albert (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).
BELA, Nicholas (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Eve Ettinger, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).
BENGAL, Ben (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A) and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).
BENNETT, Seymour (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).
BERCOVICI, Leonardo (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A) and Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A).
BERRY, John (Jack) (Director) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); and Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A).
BESSIE, Alvah (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); William Blowitz, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).
BIBERMAN, Edward (Artist) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernyce Fleury, 1951 (B); Zachary Schwartz, 1953 (B); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).
BIBERMAN, Herbert (Director) - Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley,

1951 (A); David Raksin, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B); Danny Dare, 1953 (B); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); Gertrude Purcell, 1953 (B); and Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

BLACHE, Herbert (Actor) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A).

BLANKFORT, Henry (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B).

BORETZ, Allen (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A) and David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

BRAND, Phoebe (Mrs. Morris Carnovsky) (Actress) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Eliza Kazan, 1952 (A); Clifford Odets, 1952 (A); and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

BRIGHT, John (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B).

BUCHMAN, Harold (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B).

BUCHMAN, Sidney (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

[REDACTED]

BURNS, Georgia (Actress) - Identified by Harold Hecht, 1953 (B).

BURNS, Jessie (Studio Reader) - Identified by Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); and Danny Dare, 1953 (B); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

BURNSTEIN, Russell William (Studio Engineer) - Identified by Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

BURTON, Val (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A).

BUTLER, Hugo (Writer) - Identified by Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

BUTLER, Jean (Mrs. Hugo Butler) (Writer) - Identified by Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A).

CARLISLE, Harry (Writer) - Identified by Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); and Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

CARNOVSKY, Morris (Actor) - Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Elia Kazan, 1952 (A); Larry Parks, 1951 (B); Lee J. Cobb, 1951 (B).

CHAMBERLIN, Howland (Actor) - (Investigation identifying Mr. Chamberlin as a member of the Communist Party has not been made public) (A); Anne Kinney 1952, (B).

CHAPMAN, Tom (Studio Reader) - Identified by Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

CHODOROV, Edward (Producer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Jerome Robbins, 1953 (B); and Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

CHODOROV, Jerome (Writer) - Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

CLARK, Maurice (Writer) - Identified by Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); Bart Lytton, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

COLE, Lester (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A);

b6
b7c

Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); William Blowitz, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B) David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

COMINGORE, Dorothy (Actress) - Identified by Max Silver, 1952 (A); and David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

COOPER, Bert (Member, Radio Group Communist Party) - Identified by Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).

COREY, George (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A).

COREY, Jeff (Actor) - Identified by Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Paul Marion, 1952 (A); and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

CURTIS, Paul (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

D'AMBAREY, Leona (Studio Secretary) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

DaSILVA, Howard (Actor) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

DASSIN, Julius (Jules) (Director) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); and Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A).

DIMSDALE, Howard (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

DONATH, Ludwig (Actor) - Identified by Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

DRDLIK, Frank (Set Designer) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

DREHER, Carl (Technician) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

D'USSEAU, Arnaud (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A).

EASTMAN, Philip Dey (Artist & Writer) - Identified by Bernyce Polifka Fleury, 1953 (B).

ELISKU, Edward (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

ELLIS, Dave (Radio Actor & Writer) - Identified by Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

ENDFIELD, Cyril (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A) and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

ENDORE, Guy (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, (B), 1953; and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

FARAGOH, Francis (Writer) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

FARMER, Mary Virginia (Actress) - Identified by Mildred Ashe, 1951 (A) and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

FISKE, Dick (Movie Studio) - Identified by Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A).

FOREMAN, Carl (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

FULLER, Lester (Writer) - Identified by Eve Ettinger, 1951 (A); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

GEER, Will (Actor) - Identified by Harold Ashe, 1951 (A).

GILBERT, Ed (Set Designer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

GILBERT, Jody (Actress) - Identified by Harvey Narcisenfeld, 1952 (B).

GOLD, Lee (Writer) - Identified by Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

GOLDMAN, Harold (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

GORDON, Donald (Ass't Editor, Studio Story Dept.) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

GORDON, Michael (Director) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

GORNEY, Jay (Song Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); George Glass, 1952 (A).

GOUGH, Lloyd (Actor) - Identified by Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Larry Parks, 1951 (B); and Jerome Robbins, 1953 (B).

b6
b7C

[REDACTED]
GRANT, Carl (In theatre branch of Communist Party) - Identified by Anne Kinney, 1953 (B).

GRANT, Morton (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); William Blowitz, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

GRENNARD, Elliot (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A).

GRUEN, Margaret (Peggy) (Writer) - Identified by Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); and Paul Marion, 1952 (A).

HAMMER, Alvin (Real name: Irving Dratler) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A). (Actor)

HAMMETT, Dashiell (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

HARPER, Annette (Actress) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); and Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B).

HARRIS, Lou (Publicity Man) - Identified by Harold Ashe, 1951 (A); Mildred Ashe, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); and Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B).

HELLGREN, George (Studio Employee) - Identified by Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

HELLMAN, Lillian (Playwright) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

HENRY, Milton (President, Hollywood Studio Branch, C.P.) - (Identified in Communist Party publication introduced into the records during testimony of Anne Kinney, 1952), (B).

HENTSCHEL, Irving Paul (Crafts Worker) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

HILBERMAN, David (Motion Picture Lay-out Artist) - Identified by Eugene Fleury, 1951 (A); and Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B); Bernyce Fleury, 1951 (A).

HOBART, Rose (Actress) - Identified by Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

HOPKINS, Pauline (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); and Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B).

HOVEY, Tamara (Writer) - Identified by Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

HOWARD, Maurice (Business Agent, Screen Cartoonist Guild) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

HOWE, Ann (Former Executive Secretary of Contemporary Theatre) - Identified by Anne Kinney, 1952 (B).

HUBLEY, John (Cartoonist) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

HUEBSCH, Edward (Writer) - Identified by Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); and David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

HUNTER, Ian McLellan (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

IVENS, Joris (Documentary Films) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

JAMES, Daniel Lewis (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Bart Lytton, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

JAMES, Lilith (Mrs. Dan James) (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Bart Lytton, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

JARRICO, Paul (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David Raksin, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Ann Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

KAHN, Gordon (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts (A); George Glass, 1952 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

b6
b7c

KILLIAN, Victor (Actor) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Larry Parks, 1951 (B); Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

KLEIN, Phil (Member of Cartoonist Group, C.P.) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

KLOWDEN, Nina (Radio Actress) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B).

KOENIG, Lester (Associate Producer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

KRABER, Tony (Actor) - Identified by Elia Kazan, 1952 (A); Clifford Odets, 1952 (A).

KRAFT, Hyman Solomon (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

KROMBERGER, Joe (Studio Electrician) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

LAGERFIN, Pauline (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

LAMPBELL, Millard (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

LARDNER, Ring, Jr. (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); George Glass, 1952 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

LAWSON, John Howard (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Edward Dymtryk, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Harold Ashe, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); William Blowitz, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); David Raksin, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952, (A); Danny Dare, 1953 (B); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Larry Parks, 1951 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B); Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B); Bart Lytton, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

LAZARUS, Simon M. (Owner of Independent Productions Corp.) - (Investigation identifying Mr. Lazarus as a member of the Communist Party has not been made public) (B).

LEES, Robert (Writer) - Identified by Sterling Hayden, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A).

LEONARD, Charles (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

LEARNER, Tillie (Writer) - Identified by Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A).

LEVERETT, Lewis (Actor) - Identified by Elia Kazan, 1952 (A); Clifford Odets, 1952 (A).

LEVITT, Alfred (Studio Reader & Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

LEWITZKY, Bella (Dancer) - Identified by Anne Kinney, 1952 (B).

(Mrs. Newell Reynolds).

LIEBERMAN, Irwin (Writer) - Identified by Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A).

LINDEMAN, Mitchell (Director) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

LOSEY, Joseph (Director) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A).

LYON, Peter (Radio Writer, New York) - Identified by Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

MADDOW, Ben (Screen Writer) - Identified by Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

MALTZ, Albert (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); Harold Hecht, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

MANOFF, Arnold (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Mildred Ashe, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

MARTIN, Henriette (Henrietta) (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

MATTHEWS, Allen (Actor) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A).

McELROY, Walter (Writer) - Identified by Mildred Ashe, 1951 (A).

McGREW, John (Cartoon Animator) - Identified by Eugene Fleury, 1951 (A).

McVEY, Paul (Radio Actor) - Identified by Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); and Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B).

MEYERS, Henry (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); George Glass, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

MILLER, John (Actor) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

MILLER, Paula (Mrs. Lee Strasberg) (Actress) - Identified by Elia Kazan, 1952 (A).

MINDLIN, Eunice (Secretary, Member C.P. Writer's Group, Hollywood) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

MISCHEL, Josef (TV Story Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

MOORE, Sam (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Paul Marion, 1952 (A); and Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

MORLEY, Karen (Actress) - Identified by Sterling Hayden, 1951 (A); Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); Larry Parks, 1953 (B).

MOSS, Carelton (Writer) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A).

MURRAY, Donald (Actor) - Identified by Anne Kinney, 1952 (B).

OFFNER, Mortimer (TV Work, ex-Screen Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A).

OLIVER, William E. (Drama Critic) - Identified by Alice Bennett, 1952 (B); and Urcel Daniel, 1952 (B).

ORNITZ, Samuel (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

PAGE, Charles (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Morris Appelman, 1952 (B).

PARKER, Dorothy (Mrs. Alan Campbell) (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

b6
b7C

PEARSON, Rose (Member, Federal Theater unit of Communist Party, N.Y.) - Identified by Harold Hecht, 1953 (B).

PECK, Trudy (Member, Federal Theater unit of C.P., New York) - Identified by Harold Hecht, 1953 (B).

PERLIN, Paul (Studio Worker) - Identified by Max Silver, 1952 (A) and Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

PETERSON, Henry (Studio Carpenter) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

PETERSON, Hjalmar (Studio Carpenter) - Identified by Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B).

PETTUS, Ken (Radio Writer) - Identified by Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

POLIN, Ben (Photographer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A) and Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).

POLONSKY, Abraham Lincoln (Director-Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Sterling Hayden, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

POMERANCE, Mortimer William (Screen Writers' Guild, former executive secretary) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Berneyce Fleury, 1951 (A) and Eugene Fleury, 1951 (A); Charlotte Darling Adams, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

RAPP, Maurice (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A).

REVERE, Ann (Actress) - Identified by Larry Parks, 1951 (B) and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

REYNOLDS, Bella Lewitzky (Dancer) (See Bela Lewitzky).

RICHARDS, Robert L. (Writer) - Identified by Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

RINALDO, Fred (Writer) - Identified by Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

RIVER, W. L. (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

ROBERTS, Bob (Producer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

ROBERTS, Marguerite (Mrs. John Sanford) (Writer) - Identified by Leroy Herndon, Jr., 1953 (B); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B); and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

ROBINSON, Jack (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); and Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).

ROBINSON, Mary (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); and Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).

ROLFE, Ed (Writer) - Identified by Silvia Richards, 1953 (B).

RONKA, Wayne (Musician) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

ROSENFELD, Paul (Attorney for Music Corp. of America) - Identified by Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

ROUSSEAU, Louise (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

RUSKIN, Shimen (Actor) - Identified by Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

SABINSON, Lee (Broadway Producer) - Identified by Eve Ettinger, 1951 (A); and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

SAGE, Frances (Actress) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

SALEMSON, Harold (In charge of Press department, Douglas Fairbanks, N. Y. office) - Identified by Sol Shor, 1953 (B).

SALT, Waldo (Writer) - Identified by Richard Collins, 1951 (A); Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Budd Schulberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A);

Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David Raksin, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); Roland W. Kibbee, 1953 (B); Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

SCOFIELD, Louis (Actor, Writer) - Identified by Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

SCOTT, Adrian (Producer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

SHAPIRO, Art (Radio writer or Publicist) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A).

SHAPIRO, Victor (Publicist) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); George Bassman, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1952 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

SHAW, Robert (Writer) - Identified by Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

SHIP, Reuben (Radio and Screen Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

SHORE, Wilma (Mrs. Lou Solomon) (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

SHORE, Viola Brothers (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

SKLAR, George (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

SLOAN, Robert (Member, Federal Theater Unit of Communist Party, N. Y.) - Identified by Harold Hecht, 1953 (B).

SMITH, Art, (Actor) - Identified by Elia Kazan, 1952 (A); and Clifford Odets, 1952 (A).

SMITH, Ralph (Set Designer) - Identified by Harold Ashe, 1951 (A).

SOLOMON, Lou (Louis) (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

SONDERGAARD, Gale (Actress) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); Larry Parks, 1951 (B); and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

SPENCER, Ray (Writer) - Identified by Danny Dare, 1953 (B).

STANDER, Lionel (Actor) - Identified by Marc Lawrence, 1951 (A); Harold Ashe, 1951 (A); Mildred Ashe, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

STANFORD, John (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

STEVENSON, Philip Edward (Writer) - Identified by Roy Huggins, 1952 (A); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

STEWART, Donald Ogden (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

STONE, Eugene R. (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

STRAWN, Arthur (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

SULLIVAN, Elliott (Actor) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B); and Jerome Robbins, 1953 (B).

TAFFEL, Bess (Writer) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); and Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B).

TARLOFF, Frank (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B) and Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

TERKEL, Louis (Actor) - Identified by Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

TRABUSIS, Paul (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B).

TRAUBE, Shepard (Theater Director and Producer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

TREE, Dorothy (Mrs. Michael Uris) (Actress) - Larry Parks, 1953 (B) and Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).

TRIVERS, Paul (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Roland Kibbee, 1953 (B).

TRUMBO, Dalton (Writer) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Anne Ray Frank, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Charles Daggett, 1952 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Max Benoff, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B) and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

TYNE, George (Actor) - Identified by Lee J. Cobb, 1953 (B).
(AKA Buddy Yarus)

UERKVITZ, Herta (Studio Research Department) - Identified by Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); and Elizabeth Wilson, 1951 (A).

URIS, Dorothy Tree (Mrs. Michael Uris) (Actress) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); and Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A).

URIS, Michael (Writer) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

VORHAUS, Bernard (Director) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Frank Tuttle, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Stanley Roberts, 1952 (A); Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

WACHSMAN, Robert (Publicist) - Identified by Charles Daggett, 1952 (B).

WAGNER, Esther Jerry (Radio Announcer) - Identified by Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

WALDMAN, Herman (AKA David Wolf) (Radio Actor) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); and Roy Erwin, 1953 (B).

WAXMAN, Stanley, (Radio Actor) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); and Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

WEBER, John (Agent) - Identified by Leo Townsend, 1951 (A) and Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A).

WEXLEY, John (Writer) - Identified by Edward Dmytryk, 1951 (A); Leo Townsend, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B); Bart Lytton, 1953 (B); and Robert Rossen, 1953 (B).

WHITNEY, Lynn (Actress) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); Owen Vinson, 1952 (A); Dwight Hauser, 1953 (B); and Roy Erwin, 1953 (B); Carin Kinzel, 1953 (B).

[REDACTED]

WILLNER, George (Writers' agent) - Identified by Meta Reis Rosenberg, 1951 (A); Martin Berkeley, 1951 (A); Melvin Levy, 1952 (A); Isobel Lennart, 1952 (A); Silvia Richards, 1953 (B); Leopold Atlas, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

b6
b7C

WILSON, Michael (Writer) - Identified by Bernard Schoenfeld, 1952 (A); David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Sol Shor, 1953 (B); and Babbette Lang, 1953 (B).

WOLFF, William (Radio Writer) - Identified by Paul Marion, 1952 (A); and Owen Vinson, 1952 (A).

[REDACTED]

ZIMET, Julian (Writer) - Identified by David A. Lang, 1953 (B); Pauline S. Townsend, 1953 (B).

KEY: (A) Report of the House Committee On Un-American Activities for the Year 1952.

(B) Report of the House Committee On Un-American Activities for the Year 1953.

January 4, 1956

Mr. Tolson	✓
Mr. Boardman	✓
Mr. Nichols	✓
Mr. Belmont	✓
Mr. Harbo	✓
Mr. Mohr	✓
Mr. Parsons	✓
Mr. Rosen	✓
Mr. Tamm	✓
Mr. Sizoo	✓
Mr. Winterrowd	✓
Tele. Room	✓
Mr. Holloman	✓
Miss Gandy	✓

Mr. Tolson: ✓

Fulton Lewis has contacted Congressman Walter and informed the Congressman that Elmo Roper and Dean Griswald wanted to confer with Walter regarding the so-called investigation of the Fund for the Republic. Walter told him that he has already received an emissary, namely Irving Ferman, representing the American Civil Liberties Union, who advised Walter that Roper and Griswald wanted to talk to him and who related that Roper and Griswald had come to the view that the Fund would have to get rid of Robert Maynard Hutchins because Hutchins' presence was discrediting many of the good things of the Fund. Fulton replied that he did not know the Fund had any good things at all.

Fulton
Roach
guy
Nichols

Furthermore, Walter told him that about ten days ago he had a letter from Bethuel Webster, Counsel for the Fund, who wanted to talk to him about the Fund investigation.

Walter concludes that they are trying to work some kind of a deal to avoid the investigation and to kill it off and Fulton is going to try to make this impossible.

Respectfully,

L. B. Nichols

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/af

LBN:arm
(2)

*all the Fund is doing is
to try to head off all
inquiry by double talk.*

RECORDED
INDEXED
EX-126

100-391697-319

17 JAN 9 1956

file 100-391697

50 JAN 11 1956

LINSON

From: National Public Relations Division, The American Legion
1608 K Street, N.W., Washington, D. C. Executive 3-4814

* Address by the National Commander *
* of The American Legion, J. Addington Wagner, *
* Hotel Biltmore, Los Angeles, California *
* January 3, 1956 *

FOR RELEASE 12:00 NOON, PST, JANUARY 3, 1956

Mr. Chairman, Distinguished Guests, and my Friends of Los Angeles:

The opportunity of meeting with and speaking to this distinguished group of citizens of Los Angeles, has been, for the past several years, a high point in the term of office of the National Commander of The American Legion. I am very happy to share the privilege with my predecessors.

During the coming months the city of Los Angeles will be increasingly, in the thoughts and plans of American Legionnaires all over the country. All of us are looking forward to our 38th National Convention which will convene here on September 3. The Convention will provide the occasion for thousands of us to become better acquainted with this wonderful part of the United States.

As the spokesman for a great national organization, it is stimulating to come to California, and to meet with people who are responsible for the tremendous vigor and enthusiasm which has made this the fastest growing section of our vigorous and fast-growing country. The dream which has found reality here is perhaps the most brilliant example of all that we mean when we refer to the American Way of Life. Here is the unanswerable argument for the American system of economy and of government. In no other area, and in no other age has any people created such an abundant life as you have here. Is it any wonder we Americans are so determined that what we have built shall not be taken away from us?

As yet, we also have this fact to contend with: that equally as strong as our determination to maintain our way of life, is the resolve of an implacable enemy that it must be destroyed.

Who is our enemy? Our enemy is Communism. It is a philosophy based upon atheistic materialism; and is diametrically opposed to the philosophy upon which our culture and our heritage is based.

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
16 JAN 6 1956

America and all that which it represents is the greatest remaining obstacle to the Communist effort to convert the world to Communism, as long as the United States

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 208 XSD/108

Found For The Republic

50 JAN 11 1956

file 100-391697
5/10/56

XEROXED ORIGINAL-RETAIN

MAY 6 1971

stands as proof of the superiority of a free way of life, there is a real possibility that someday, somehow; the peoples now oppressed by Communism will arise and throw off their shackles.

The Communists know this. They know it much better than some of us. It makes no difference to them how they achieve their victory. Their guide is not what is good or moral or right, but rather what will work. The war they wage is a total war - all-inclusive and unremitting and is pointed directly at you and all loyal Americans.

Perhaps their most successful approach to date, and certainly one that we in America can comprehend, is the tactic of boring from within. This is their constant, continuing effort and they have perfected it beyond anything the world has ever known before. It embodies all of those various schemes and devices which the Communists use within a nation to strengthen their cause while at the same time weakening the ability and the will of their enemy to resist. This can include espionage; Communist Party activity; the fomenting of internal difficulties, such as labor, or racial unrest; the distraction of the people from the danger of Communism to other dangers, fancied or real.

All of these things advance the cause of Communism. All of them have been, or are being practiced in the United States.

Consider, for example, the fantastic successes which their espionage apparatus achieved through the use of Russian agents, and of Americans who were persuaded to collaborate with them. The present degree of advancement of Russian nuclear research is unquestionably due to their espionage success in this country.

Of course, espionage was not and is not the only Communist method of warring on the United States. Perhaps the most deceptive, and therefore the most dangerous of their standard operating procedures is the technique of persuading non-Communist to weaken the safeguards of our liberty. An examination of the past ten years will show how successfully this maneuver has been pursued by American Communists and their friends. Today we find too many Americans assuming that our real enemy is not Communism but, rather, those who seek to resist Communism.

It has resulted in the spreading of a belief that to be really patriotic, one must be an anti-anti-Communist.

Briefly, it appears that the current direction of Communist activity is designed to use the constitutional guarantees which protect our liberties to cloak their activities, and at the same time, to weaken and destroy those very liberties. An

example of this is the interpretation which has been placed on the purpose and of the 5th amendment as used by witnesses appearing before Congressional Committees.

You and I know that the 5th Amendment was designed to prevent a citizen from being convicted of a criminal offense by his own testimony alone. There is nothing in the wording of the 5th Amendment which makes it incumbent upon the people to conclude that one who pleads the 5th Amendment is innocent of all wrong doing.

However, there is a school of thought currently popular in some circles, which adopts an opposite position. This line of thought would have us believe that if a person pleads the 5th Amendment, his fellow citizens must not suspect him of wrong-doing and, in fact, should in some instances commend him,

Who advocates this interpretation? Well, for one, it would appear to be advocated by those who control the activities of the Fund for the Republic. This handsomely financed, tax-exempt organization has been liberally disbursing a 15 million-dollar kitty for several years. Its present director is Robert Maynard Hutchins. Some of the projects on which the Fund has chosen to lavish its money are, in the opinion of The American Legion, not designed to promote the common good. They are those which cannot help but gladden the hearts of the remaining members of the Communist Party of the USA, and of their Russian masters.

Consider for a moment the comment with which the Fund for the Republic offered a grant of \$5,000 to the William Jeanes Memorial Library of Plymouth Meeting, Pennsylvania. This grant, said the Fund, was for "courageous and effective defense of democratic principles." What constituted this "courageous and effective defense?" The Library had, at that point, declined to fire a woman who had refused to testify before a Congressional Investigating Committee - on grounds of the 5th Amendment. This same woman had been identified by Herbert Philbrick, a government counter-espionage agent, as a Communist. The effect of this grant could only be to encourage such people to refuse to tell the truth and to impede the investigative work of the United States Congress.

Who in the United States today believes that the Communists are a political party? The Congress and the Courts have declared that Communists are traitors and revolutionaries. The Fund for the Republic, in its latest official report, says that a political party in the United States has been identified with the "enemy." They put the word "enemy" in quotes. Do they mean the Communist Party of the USA? If not, to which party do they refer?

The Communist Party, USA, is the American branch of the same Communist Party

which is the only legal party in Russia and in China and in North Korea. This conspiracy recently killed nearly 25,000 American men, and wounded nearly a million others. If the Communist Party is not our enemy, who is? Or perhaps the learned gentlemen who direct the Fund are of the opinion that since the shooting has stopped we should let bygones be bygones, and start all over again in a spirit of perfect trust and friendship.

I say to you that a Communist, whether he is an American or an Outer Mongolian, is an enemy of the United States of America.

Any one who does not recognize and accept that fact is too naive, or too obtuse, to be trusted to give away tax-exempt money.

That the judgment of those who are spending the Fund's money is questionable is substantiated by a recently published letter written by Mr. Henry Ford II. Referring to the Fund Mr. Ford said: "Some of its actions, I feel, have been in dubious character, and inevitably have led to charges of poor judgment." The pertinence of this remark lies in the fact that the money which the Fund is giving away, came originally from the resources of the Ford family.

In contrast to some of the dubious projects of the Fund for the Republic I would call your attention to the recent 500 million-dollar grant made by the Ford Foundation. This tremendous sum was given for two exclusive purposes: to promote the better education of our people, and to improve their medical care. To such grants, properly carried out, no one could have any objection. They are directed very simply toward the advancement of the common good. The American Legion has congratulated the Ford Foundation and Mr. Henry Ford II for this unparalleled example of beneficence for all the people.

The American Legion has no objection to the objectives of the Fund for The Republic as stated in the December issue of The American Legion Magazine, which I quote: "We hope to make a contribution to the better understanding of effective procedures for dealing with the communist menace while at the same time strengthening the American traditions of liberty and freedom."

However, in the same issue of The American Legion Magazine, the Directors of the Fund said this: "The areas on which the Board has long since decided to concentrate its attention are: 1. Restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom. 2. Due process and equal protection of the laws. 3. The protection of the rights of minorities, 4. Censorship, boycotting, and blacklisting activities by private groups. 5. The principle of guilt by association and its application in the

United States today." We believe this statement is an indication that the Director of the Fund have not taken a balanced view of the implementation of their stated objectives. We believe that this is a form of anti-anti-Communism. To our knowledge nothing at all is said by the Fund about spending tax-exempt money to study the danger of an individual's refusal to accept the obligations of citizenship as well as its rights; nothing is said about a possible investigation of persons who have perverted academic freedom into academic license; no project, to our knowledge, is contemplated to investigate the degree of success which Communist teachers have achieved in poisoning the minds of our children. The Fund apparently sees no need to concern itself with such things. Rather, it sees danger to America only in "restrictions and assaults upon academic freedom."

Mr. Hutchins seemingly sees nothing wrong with paying the tax-exempt money which is in his care for the employment of a press agent for the Fund; a press agent, I might add, who refused to tell the Congress of the United States whether he was, or had ever been a Communist. What this man would not tell his government, however, he apparently was willing to tell Mr. Hutchins. In a press conference on November 7th last, Mr. Hutchins reportedly said that this man had assured him that he left the Communist Party in 1939 -- and this assurance was sufficient for Mr. Hutchins.

Also, Mr. Hutchins sees nothing wrong in paying more of the money, which is in his custody, to Mr. Earl Browder. For this money, Mr. Browder is to tell what he knows about Communism in the United States. This same information was requested of Mr. Browder by the Congress, and also by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, but Mr. Browder could not see his way clear to provide it as a matter of civic duty. 2

Now, ladies and gentlemen, you may well ask, what is the point of all this? The projects which we have criticized so severely may be merely a few of many which the Fund has financed. Are the questionable objects of these grants of money so important that they merit all of this public discussion?

The answer is that, in the objectionable activities of the Fund for the Republic, The American Legion sees almost serious threat to America's success in the life and death struggle with Communism. First, it must be agreed that the end of this conflict will come only when one side or the other is decisively victorious. For the nature of Communism is such that it can never cease its efforts to destroy the free way of life which is a threat to its own existence.

Granted the final nature of the struggle, it is then easy to see that anything

which weakens America's belief in its present system of values, is an aid and comfort to the enemy.

We believe that the Fund for the Republic places itself in that category because: First, it is financed by moneys which are exempt from taxes, unavailable to the public treasury, and not accountable to the electoral control of the people. Second, a substantial number of its projects, to date, have the essential effect of destroying the concept of Communism as an enemy of the United States, and of depicting it merely as a non-conforming political ideology. Third, having represented the Communist danger as a bogeyman, the Fund next appears to challenge both the necessity for, and the inherent power of, both the Legislative and the Executive branches of government to investigate the activities of our citizens.

In our belief, the result of these activities by the Fund is to confuse many of our citizens, to delude others and to interfere with the work of the Congressional Committees, and the properly constituted agencies so essential for the preservation of our national security.

Finally, it is natural to ask, "What does The American Legion believe should be done to correct this dangerous situation?" Very simply we believe that the control of the moneys of the Fund for the Republic should be entrusted to people who are more competent to understand and pursue its stated objectives. That this is possible is demonstrated by the example of other tax-exempt foundations presently doing good and objective work.

In the letter written by Henry Ford II, to which I earlier referred, there is this statement: "What effect my comments may have, remains to be seen. I am satisfied, however, that no public trust can expect to fulfill its responsibilities, if it does not respond to intelligent and constructive public criticism."

We have noted, however, no indication by either word or action that the people in charge of the Fund for the Republic are impressed with Mr. Ford's point of view. I hope that Mr. Ford and the responsible leaders of the Ford Foundation are prepared to take effective measures to see that the balance of the Fund's principal will be spent in such a way as to reflect credit on the name of Ford. Certainly, it would be a tragic thing to have one of the great institutions of our free enterprise system associated in the public mind with an operation which serves to damage the cause of national security. And that is very likely to happen if the Fund for the Republic continues in its present direction.

Ladies and Gentlemen, in all that we have said and done, on this issue and in all others, The American Legion is motivated solely by love of country and by concern for the welfare of our people and of future generations of Americans.

To maintain a position based on convictions, honestly arrived at, is not always easy. This is true particularly when such a position places one in opposition to strong, well financed, and clever opponents. We do not, however, fear criticism for doing what we firmly believe to be in the best interests of our country.

The American Legion, like each of you, believes in freedom. We do not believe in license. We believe as you do in the rights of citizenship. We also believe that with these rights there are resulting responsibilities. We believe that all men are entitled to live in peace and security. But we believe, too, that when these are threatened, true men and women will always do that which is necessary to protect themselves, their families, and the values by which they live.

If the American people ever abandon these beliefs, then our nation is indeed in grave danger. The American Legion is determined that this shall never happen. We desire your confidence and support in doing the work to which we have dedicated ourselves.

Mr. Nichols.

December 29, 1955

X
M. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
DECEMBER 29, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-3-89 BY SP8 BTJ/ap

Mr. Lewis devoted part of his program tonight to a discussion of a review which appeared in the December issue of the American Bar Association Journal of the book by Dean Erwin Griswold of Harvard University Law School entitled "The Fifth Amendment Today." Lewis pointed out that 35,000 copies of this book had been purchased by the Fund for the Republic and distributed to judges, attorneys and others throughout the Nation. He pointed out that Griswold is a member of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic, and because of his position as Dean of Harvard Law School, he has a certain front of respectability and a presumption of sound legal thinking and reasoning. The review for the ABA Journal was written by [redacted]

[redacted] and begins by noting that Dean Griswold's book deals particularly with the predicament in which a college professor finds himself when testifying before a Congressional investigating committee to answer questions about his past or present communist affiliations. b6 b7C

The review points out that Dean Griswold's suggestions regarding a code of practice for congressional investigating committees are worthy of study by those who may be interested in the subject. But he dissents strongly from Griswold's opinion that an innocent man has the right to plead the Fifth Amendment when questioned about communist activities. [redacted] review brings up the point that most idealist professors who have fallen for communism really do not fear prosecution but fear public ridicule for poor judgement in being duped by the communists. He states the opinion that the main reason for their former attachment to communism was their belief that the principle "wave lengths" of the future were emanating from a socialist or marxist order. [redacted] added that when such a dupe refuses to testify concerning his past affiliations, he goes beyond the point of poor judgement and the most charitable thing that can be said about him is that he has an extremely poor concept of civic responsibility and certainly should be barred from responsible Government positions and from the teaching of the young. (See Recommendation next page)

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Harbo _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont

50 JAN 11 1956

FILE (100-371697)

100-371697-1
NOT RECORDED
191 JAN 4 1956

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN

FUND for the Republic
AGE: age

Jones to Nichols Memo

12-29-55

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information

gm
bm
THE AMERICAN LEGION



FIRING LINE



Prepared and Distributed By The National Americanism Commission, P. O. Box 1055, Indianapolis, Indiana

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 7-3-89 BY 258 BTJ/afp

Subscription rate \$3.00 per year

VOL. NO. IV, NO. 25

December 1, 1955

FREEDOM AGENDA PROGRAM

On November 18, 1955, the National Executive Committee (NEC) of The American Legion approved original Resolution No. 202 (New York) entitled "Adoption of Westchester County, N. Y. Report On Freedom Agenda." The NEC expressed "solidarity" with the Department of New York American Legion and called the attention of all Legion members to the affiliation with subversive groups of certain authors, whose publications are recommended by Freedom Agenda.

The Freedom Agenda Program, made possible by a \$111,610 grant from the Fund For The Republic, Inc., is not affiliated in any way with The American Legion. Founded in 1947, the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., of 164 Lexington Avenue, New York City, allegedly seeks "to increase the knowledge of individual men and women in all parts of the world about the structures, functions, techniques and problems of democratic government." (See "Report of The Fund For The Republic, Inc., May 31, 1955, page 25; Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., leaflet, 1955).

Freedom Agenda, latest project of the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc., is alleged to be an educational program designed to "increase understanding and appreciation of the role that individual freedom plays in our system of constitutional democracy and representative government." On the other hand, the Freedom Agenda Committee "seeks the active cooperation of national organizations and their local units; welcomes the participation of cooperating organizations in an advisory capacity; encourages the organization of discussion groups in the community; and prepares material for individual and group use." (See Freedom Agenda, leaflet, 1955).

The primary objective of the Freedom Agenda Program "is to stimulate the formation of local committees which will organize discussion groups on individual liberty. The discussion group pattern is suggested as the best method of helping participants develop their own independent thinking." (See Freedom Agenda Pamphlet: "How To Organize A Freedom Agenda Project", 1954, page 3).

The American Legion has no quarrel with the League of Women Voters or any group which is honestly and sincerely engaged in the study of our Constitution. We do feel that the teaching materials used should be as objective as possible. Legionnaires and patriotic citizens are entitled to know the background of teaching materials now used by the Freedom Agenda Program.

During 1954 and 1955, the Carrie Chapman Catt Memorial Fund, Inc. published the following Freedom Agenda Pamphlets for the purpose of providing

COPYRIGHT 1955 BY THE AMERICAN LEGION

REPRODUCTION IN WHOLE OR PART WITHOUT AUTHORIZATION IS PROHIBITED.

64 JAN 11 1956

100-391697

Freedom Agenda

Freedom Agenda
100-391697
Rough
Yoffey
Baird
Gardner

Liberty
Baird
Gardner
4-2

NOT RECORDED
7 JAN 4 1956

"basic information on current issues which touch upon individual liberty"; "How To Organize A Freedom Agenda Project"; "The Bill of Rights and Our Individual Liberties"; "Where Constitutional Liberty Came From"; "Freedom of Speech and Press" by ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR.; "Constitutional Liberty and Seditious Activity"; "The Constitution and Congressional Investigating Committees" and "The Constitution and Loyalty Programs" (See Freedom Agenda Pamphlet: "How To Organize A Freedom Agenda Project", 1954).

b6
b7C

ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., a Harvard University Professor and author of Freedom Agenda Pamphlet "Freedom of Speech and Press", signed a statement in 1933 urging United States recognition of the Soviet Union under the auspices of the Fellowship of Reconciliation. In 1940, CHAFEE signed a statement to the President of the United States on behalf of the Veterans of the Abraham Lincoln Brigade. The following year he signed a statement defending the Communist Party. (See Leaflet, 1933; and HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 647 and 1648).

He was affiliated with the Citizens Committee To Free Earl Browder and signed a statement opposing the renewal of the Special Committee On Un-American Activities in 1943, on behalf of the subversive National Federation For Constitutional Liberties. CHAFEE also signed a petition on behalf of the American Committee For Democracy and Intellectual Freedom, a now defunct Communist front which defended Communist teachers. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 331, 621 and 1243; and HUAC, Guide To Subversive Organizations and Publications, 1951, page 12).

In 1950, CHAFEE sent a prepared statement to the House Committee On Un-American Activities during hearings on legislation to outlaw Un-American and subversive activities, declaring his opposition to the Subversive Activities Control Act (H.R. 7595 and H.R. 3903). The same year he sponsored the subversive National Committee To Defeat The Mundt Bill and signed an Open Letter on behalf of the National Committee To Repeal The McCarran Act. (See HUAC, Report on The National Committee to Defeat The Mundt Bill, 1950, page 11; HUAC, Hearings On Legislation to Outlaw Certain Un-American and Subversive Activities, 1950, page 2319; and Letterhead, 1950).

CHAFEE is a current Executive Group member of the National Council Against Conscriptation, which was fully exposed in the October 15, 1954 issue of The Firing Line. He signed a statement in September 1955 "urging adoption of stands sought by the Communist Party", under auspices of the Americans For Traditional Liberties of 40 East 40th Street, New York City. (See "The Tablet", 10-1-55; and Letterhead, 1955).

Freedom Agenda Program also suggests three books for further reading written by CHAFEE entitled "How Human Rights Got Into The Constitution", "Free Speech In The United States" and "Documents On Fundamental Human Rights" in 3 volumes. (See Freedom Agenda Pamphlet "Freedom of Speech and Press", 1955, page 59).

FREEDOM AGENDA'S RECOMMENDED PUBLICATIONS

Each Freedom Agenda Pamphlet contains a selection of recommended books and pamphlets for further reading. An examination of these references

285/11/11
5/11/11

discloses the following names of authors: ZECHARIAH CHAFEE, JR., HENRY STEELE COMMAGER, THOMAS I. EMERSON, WALTER GELLHORN, [REDACTED] HOWARD MUMFORD JONES and ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN. Freedom Agenda also recommends a Public Affairs Pamphlet.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER was a member of the Committee of Welcome for the "Red" Dean of Canterbury, VERY REVEREND HEWLETT JOHNSON, when JOHNSON was originally invited to visit the United States by the National Council of American-Soviet Friendship in 1948. (See Report, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1954, page 250).

COMMAGER stated the following year that "we are now embarked upon a campaign of suppression and oppression more reckless, more prevasive, and ultimately more dangerous than any in our history...The hue and cry goes on without regard to the fact that the Department of Justice and the FBI have as yet adduced no evidence that traitors and spies and subversives have been able to work substantial harm to the nation..." COMMAGER is a member of the National Committee of the American Civil Liberties Union. (See "The New York Times Magazine", 6-26-49; "The Atom Spy Hoax" by WILLIAM A. REUBEN, 1955, page 148; and Letterhead, 1955).

THOMAS I. EMERSON, professor at Yale Law School and a current member of the Executive Committee of the National Council of the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, was identified as a member of the Communist Party before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organization in 1952. EMERSON has been affiliated with the International Juridical Association, National Lawyers Guild, Jefferson School of Social Science, National Committee To Repeal The Mundt Bill and the Progressive Citizens of America. (See Hearings, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1952, page 723; HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 795, 809 and 1275; HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, 1949, page 28; and Letterheads).

EMERSON signed an Open Letter to all Congressional Candidates in 1950 asking for repeal of the McCarran Act, under the auspices of the National Committee To Repeal The McCarran Act. A sponsor of Live and Let Live, EMERSON has also sponsored the Hiroshima Commemorative Committee, Southern Conference For Human Welfare, and was listed as a member of the Board of Directors of the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions. The record of EMERSON has been reported in the May 15, 1954, August 15, 1954, April 15, 1955 and August 1, 1955 issues of The Firing Line. (See "Daily Worker", 7-12-55; HUAC, Review of the Scientific and Cultural Conference For World Peace, 1949, page 34; Letterheads and Leaflets).

WALTER GELLHORN, Professor of the School of Law, Columbia University, was identified as a member of the Communist Party by LOUIS F. BUDENZ before the Select Committee to Investigate Tax-Exempt Foundations and Comparable Organizations on December 23, 1952. A member of the Board of Directors of the American Civil Liberties Union, GELLHORN was exposed in the September 15, 1955 issue of The Firing Line, page 92, as having received a fellowship from The Fund For The Republic, Inc. for research assistance in preparing the 1956 Edward Douglass White lectures. (See Hearings, Tax-Exempt Foundations, 1952, page 725; and Letterheads, 1955).

[REDACTED] a sponsor of the subversive China Welfare Appeal, Inc. in 1950, was listed as a member [REDACTED] of the

b6
b7c

b6
b7c

HOWARD MUMFORD JONES has been a sponsor of the National Committee To Combat Anti-Semitism, National Council of American-Soviet Friendship, Inc. and the Massachusetts Council of American-Soviet Friendship. JONES also sponsored the Committee of One Thousand in 1948 and the Progressive Citizens of America the year before. A 1954 contributor to "The Nation" magazine, JONES was listed as an Initiator and Sponsor of the National Committee To Repeal The McCarran Act in 1951. (See HUAC, Appendix IX, 1944, pages 1172, 1202; HUAC, Expose of Communist Activities In The State of Massachusetts, 1951, page 1412; "New Republic", 9-27-48; "Daily Worker", 3-23-51, page 2; and Letterheads).

ALEXANDER MEIKLEJOHN, a 1955 National Committee member of the American Civil Liberties Union, sponsored the American Committee For Protection of Foreign Born in 1951 and signed an appeal to the President to grant amnesty for Communist Party leaders convicted under the Smith Act under the auspices of the subversive National Committee To Win Amnesty For The Smith Act Victims. MEIKLEJOHN was affiliated with the National Council of the Arts, Sciences and Professions in 1951, and was listed as a participant of a Two-Day Conference and Forum held by the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee in 1953. (See "Daily Worker", 6-29-51, page 5; Letterheads and Leaflets; and "New Republic", 1-26-53).

Public Affairs Pamphlet number 179 entitled "Loyalty In A Democracy", is suggested for further study by the Freedom Agenda Program. Public Affairs Pamphlets, published by the Public Affairs Committee of 22 East 38th Street, New York City, was fully exposed in The Firing Line of October 1, 1954, pages 2-4. The current editor of the Pamphlet series, MAXWELL S. STEWART, was identified as a member of the Communist Party before the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee in 1951.

"During World War II, one Public Affairs Pamphlet was "barred" by the War Department after Congress protested against its use in orientation classes of the Army, declaring that its aim was to create racial antagonism." (See "The Firing Line", 10-1-54, page 3; Internal Security Subcommittee, Report On The Institute of Pacific Relations, 1952, page 158).

How will Freedom Agenda discussion groups be able to discuss the pro's and con's on individual liberty when there appears to be an unanimity of opinion among the authors whose publications are recommended?

SPECIAL NOTICE

The transcript of Fulton Lewis, Jr.'s excellent broadcasts on the Fund For The Republic, Inc. are now available in the publication entitled The Fulton Lewis, Jr. Report On The Fund For The Republic indexed and bound attractively in a red paper cover. Legionsaires should send \$1.00 to Fulton Lewis, Jr. at 1627 K Street, Washington, D. C.

Office Memorandum

UNITED STATES

GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 30, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
EARL GODWIN BROADCAST
DECEMBER 30, 1955

Tolson	_____
Boardman	_____
Nichols	_____
Belmont	_____
Harbo	_____
Mohr	_____
Parsons	_____
Rosen	_____
Tamm	_____
Sizoo	_____
Winterrowd	_____
Tele. Room	_____
Holloman	_____
Gandy	_____

In his radio broadcast on Friday, December 30, 1955, Earl Godwin criticized the Fund for the Republic for (1) rating the Communist Party as being about as "dangerous as a taffy pull" and (2) for criticizing Congress for having labeled the Communist Party as a dangerous organization. Mr. Godwin said that among the Fund for the Republic's critics are the American Legion and Congressman Reece (phonetic—probably B. Carroll Reece of Tennessee). Mr. Godwin continued that Henry Ford has indicated that he is unhappy with the Fund for the Republic, but claims there is nothing he can do.

Mr. Godwin mentioned the case of James Kutcher, Socialist Workers Party member, who is fighting for a disability pension which was taken away from him. Mr. Godwin stated that a three-man Veterans Administration Board is hearing evidence concerning Kutcher and that Kutcher has admitted his membership in the Socialist Workers Party; that the Board refuses to allow Kutcher to be confronted by the witnesses against him; and that Kutcher's attorney, Joseph Rauh, has spoken critically of the proceedings.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information.

cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

GWG:bs

66 JAN 10 1956

NOT RECORDED
JAN 6 1956

SUBV. CONTROL

CRIME REC.

ORIGINAL FILED IN 62-11116-18

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY 2088 JF/pjg

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Nichols

DATE: December 30, 1955

FROM : M. A. Jones

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 2088
B57080SUBJECT: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC
FULTON LEWIS, JR., PROGRAM
DECEMBER 30, 1955

Tolson	
Boardman	
Nichols	
Belmont	
Harbo	
Mohr	
Parsons	
Rosen	
Tamm	
Sizoo	
Winterrowd	
Tele. Room	
Holloman	
Gandy	

[] substituted for Mr. Fulton Lewis, Jr., on Mr. Lewis' radio broadcast Friday, December 30, 1955, because Mr. Lewis was ill.

[] stated that Robert M. Hutchins is expected to be called before the House Committee on Un-American Activities for testimony during HCUA's forthcoming probe of the Fund for the Republic; that Chairman Francis E. Walter said the investigation will be limited to finding out why the Fund described the communists as a political party in its 1954 report. He quoted Congressman Walter as saying, "This is very definitely the Communist Party line. I think it is the obligation of the committee to find out how that deliberate deception by the Communist Party got into the report of the Fund for the Republic." [] said that Congressman Walter stated that public hearings at which Hutchins would testify probably will follow the committee's windup of an investigation of communist infiltration of the National Labor Relations Board. According to [] Hutchins has defended the Fund's report and said he would welcome another congressional investigation into the Fund's activities; that the Special Committee on Tax Exempt Foundations had studied the Fund in 1954.

[] stated that [] a fourteen-year-old girl from Atlanta, Georgia, had received the Young American Medal for Bravery. He stated that "FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover" heads the committee which chooses the person to whom the Medal is awarded.

RECOMMENDATION:

For information. ✓

cc - Mr. Belmont

cc - Mr. Nichols

cc - Mr. Boardman

cc - Fund for the Republic file (100-391697)

GWG:bs (8)

100-391697- ✓

NOT RECORDED

JAN 4 1956

INITIALS ON ORIGINAL

52 JAN 19 1956

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 14 4-21-207

Best Copy Available

Mr. Nichols

December 23, 1955

H. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
BROADCAST
DECEMBER 23, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY 2088157J/af

Those portions of Mr. Lewis' broadcast tonight which were of interest are the following:

Mr. Lewis said that today the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee, under Senator James O. Eastland, Mississippi, published a booklet which is available free to the public, entitled "The Communist Party of the United States of America." The foreword of the booklet indicates that it is a handbook for Americans designed to combat the great store of misinformation concerning the Party which exists today. Mr. Lewis recommends the booklet highly, and he called it a documented factual account of the Party's record. It is 101 pages. Mr. Lewis read briefly from the foreword. He also said that the booklet is in marked conflict with Robert A. Hutchins and his Fund for the Republic. As an example, he went back to Hutchins' annual report on the Fund of last August, in which Hutchins said, in effect, that the threat of Communism is highly overrated. Hutchins called the Party a "political party," charging that guilt by association has become a common thing, evidence used in attacks on the Party has often been remote, and the treatment afforded witnesses in such matters has not always been in accord with the Sixth Amendment. Hutchins' annual report charged that propaganda is being spread to suppress conscientious nonconformism. He stated that the Fund was appropriating money for a study by Professor Clinton Rossiter (phonetic) as to what the Communist Party has actually accomplished in this country (Lewis stated that this is the project for which Carl Brandt has been hired).

Lewis also said he has learned that a group of individuals interested in the defense of Smith Act subjects, particularly with reference to the forthcoming trials in Pittsburgh, are trying to obtain a staff of big-name lawyers and are trying to gather evidence and testimony to show that the Communist Party does not present a clear and present danger to the United States. This group, says Lewis, is trying to get advance information from the Fund as to the results of the Fund's various studies, in order to support that claim.

CC - Mr. Boardman

CC - Mr. Nichols

CC - Mr. Belmont

CC - Fund for the Republic File (100-391697) 101 DEC 30 1955

50 DEC 30 1955

that there is no clear and present danger. This group, Lewis indicated, claims that they have received some encouragement from the Fund.

Lewis said that tomorrow night he will have a review from the latest issue of the American Bar Association bulletin of a book by Leon Criswell of Harvard Law School, entitled "The Fifth Amendment Today," of which the Fund has distributed 25,000 copies.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

Mr. Nichols

December 27, 1955

H. A. Jones

FULTON LEWIS, JR.
RADIO BROADCAST
DECEMBER 26, 1955

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY 203073/08

Mr. Lewis made mention in his December 26, 1955, broadcast of the National Committee for an Effective Congress. He indicated that this organization had issued a press release in which it indicated that the "radical right" in both parties would attempt to gain additional power in the coming Congress. The Committee, according to Lewis, singled out Senators Bridges, Knowland, Eastland and Jenner as being leaders of the "radical right." Lewis stated that Telford Taylor was associated with the National Committee for an Effective Congress. Taylor, according to Lewis, had a so-called flag on his Civil Service files which indicated that he was taboo for Government employment.

Lewis quoted the National Committee for an Effective Congress as saying that the first big test of the "radical right" would come on the issue of whether the Chairman of the House Committee on Un-American Activities would allow his Committee to be used as a smear weapon against the Fund For the Republic. Lewis stated such comment called the proposed investigation a smear even before it started since to the National Committee for an Effective Congress the Fund was sacrosanct. Here Lewis mentioned that he was listed along with George Sokolsky, Constantine Brown and others as a leading propagandist for the extreme right. He said he was glad to be in such fine company.

Lewis stated that the proposed House Un-American Activities Committee investigation concerning the Fund was not a smear and would be directed to determine whether the Fund was a legitimate tax exempt institution or a political propaganda outfit. He said that if the Fund was "clean" it had nothing to fear. The only thing the Fund has to fear, Lewis said, was guilt. He added that he doubted whether the House Committee on Un-American Activities had broad enough jurisdiction to investigate the Fund since the question of tax exemption was actually a matter for the Ways and Means Committee. Lewis suggested that the proposed investigation might be handled jointly by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Ways and Means Committee.

RECOMMENDATION: None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - 4237 (Fund For the Republic)
cc - Fund For the Republic 100-391697

FCS:sch:f1p

(7)

DEC 28 1955

100-3111-1
NOT RECORDED
140 DEC 28 1955

Office

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

DATE: December 15, 1955

TO : Mr. Nichols

FROM : M. J. Jones

SUBJECT: FULTON LEWIS, JR.,
7 P.M. BROADCAST
DECEMBER 15, 1955

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
Nease _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

Lewis stated that from reading the editorial reaction from all over the country regarding the Ford Foundation's 500 million dollar gift to schools, hospitals and colleges of the nation, Henry Ford and the Foundation should be pretty well satisfied with themselves for deciding to adopt this new policy and getting rid of the old left wing liberal movement which prevailed in the past. They have, Lewis stated, his congratulations, and apparently have the unanimous congratulations of the press and public.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY 203 BTJ/afp

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Boardman
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Fund for the Republic File 100-391697

ELJ: [unclear]
(7) [unclear]
DEC 18 11 11 AM '55

DEC 17 4 11 PM '55
DEC 17 10 50 AM '55

DEC 20 1955
DEC 18 8 14 AM '55
ORIGINAL REC'D

100-391697
NOT RECORDED
183 DEC 17 1955

DEC 18 8 23 AM '55

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-2177

Mr. Nichols

December 8, 1955

M. A. Jones

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

EARL GODWIN

NEWS BROADCAST

DECEMBER 8, 1955

On his broadcast tonight, Mr. Godwin stated, "Young Mr. Henry spoke up just in time, I think." He went on to relate that Earl Ford II's slap at the doings of the Fund for the Republic is quite reassuring, according to National Commander [redacted] of the American Legion. Mr. Godwin stated that another American Legion Commander had sent a letter to Robert M. Hutchins, President of the Fund for the Republic, urging his resignation in view of the disavowal of the Fund's activities by Mr. Ford. Mr. Godwin related that Ford alleged that, although Ford money was originally put out for the operation of the Fund, he and his family have no control whatsoever over the activities of the Fund, and he had no idea what effect his comments would have on their future activities. Mr. Godwin commented that a long sigh of relief went up when Ford told the Fund for the Republic to shut up.

He quoted Representative Walter, Chairman of the House Un-American Activities Committee, as saying that the Fund deliberately attempted to block investigations by that Committee. Representative Walter said that Ford's statement was not surprising when one considers that the Fund for the Republic holds that the Communist Party is just another political party, rather than a militant conspiracy aimed at the overthrow of our Constitutional freedoms. Representative Walter said that this mistaken attitude serves to disarm the unwary, as to the dangers of communism.

RECOMMENDATION:

None. For information.

cc - Mr. Nichols
cc - Mr. Belmont
cc - Mr. Boardman

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 8-3-89 BY 2580771/af

100-391697-
NOT RECORDED
JAN 20 1955

RGE:nma
(7)

50 DEC 21 1955

Office Memorandum • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO :

Mr. Tolson

DATE: 1/6/56

FROM :

L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY SP8BJS/RSTolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
Starr
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

FRANCIS E. MC.

Irving Ferman advised me in confidence that Elmore Roper was in town, 1/5/56, and he arranged an appointment for Congressman Walter with Roper. Congressman Walter immediately began talking about the pro-Communist position of Robert Maynard Hutchins and Roper began presenting documents which showed that Hutchins had claimed that Communism was an enemy of the United States. At that point, Ferman changed the attack and pointed out that the Fund was utilizing tax-exempt funds for propaganda purposes. Walter picked up the fuel and gave Roper a rather bad time. Ferman stated he had never seen anyone so muddleheaded as Roper was. Ferman is now convinced that the only way the Fund for the Republic can be proceeded against is on the basis of tax-exempt funds and he has the feeling that Walter will probably get steamed up and go into the matter. Roper confided that the Board of Directors of the Fund was in complete chaos and that three members wanted to throw up their hands and get out; that the General Counsel, Bethuel Webster, wanted to leave and Paul Hoffman wanted to find a way of giving the money away and quitting and that Paul Hoffman has called a meeting of the Board of Directors of the Fund for the Republic for Saturday, 1/7/56.

Ferman stated he was somewhat surprised, during the conversation between Roper and Walter, at one point where Walter spoke very harshly of Dean Griswold of Harvard and stated that Griswold was outright dishonest as a result of his book on the Fifth Amendment. On the other hand, Roper and Walter seemed to get along fairly well. Roper had been quite active in Democratic politics and the two then got into a discussion on the Commission on Government Security. Walter stated that the Commission was holding its meetings in Nixon's office; that he and [redacted] were not being invited to the meetings and he further stated that there was a move afoot on the Commission to appoint [redacted]. Walter then commented that he did not like [redacted] because [redacted] tried to torpedo [redacted].

Walter then pointed out that he had known Nixon for many years; that he had sat on the House Committee on Un-American Activities with Nixon

cc - Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont
Mr. Rosen

64 JAN 13 1956

LBN:fc (5)

RECORDED - 14

INDEXED - 14

RECEIVED 10 1956

EX-125

100-391697

b6
b7c

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson from L. B. Nichols
RE: FUND FOR THE REPUBLIC

1/6/56

and that Nixon had as much to do with the Hiss case as did Roper. He then pointed out that Nixon wants the Commission on Government Security to submit a white paper whitewashing the whole matter. Walter used the term of white paper in his conversation with me on Tuesday, 1/3/56. At that time, he stated that all the Commission could do would be to submit a white paper.

Ferman commented that the more he sees of Walter the more convinced he is that Walter is an unpredictable character. Ferman has talked to Harold Velde about the possibility of getting a Joint Committee made up of the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the House Ways and Means Committee to investigate the Fund for the Republic. Velde thought well of this and will work for it. This is the tactic that Ferman is now trying to work out.

✓ ✓ ✓

THE ATTORNEY GENERAL

December 22, 1955

DIRECTOR, FBI

100-391697-321

EX-125
671-VB

RECORDED - 39
INDEXED - 39

I wanted to call the following situation to your attention which comes to us from a source heretofore found reliable.

During the past week, Al Wirin, an attorney associated with the Los Angeles affiliate of the American Civil Liberties Union, is reported to have conferred with Adam Yarmolinsky, the Washington representative of the Fund for the Republic. Wirin it appears, according to the report, is presently engaged in securing the services of prominent attorneys to join him in submitting a brief on behalf of the defendants in the Pittsburgh Smith Act case, whose convictions the Supreme Court has agreed to review. Wirin is reported to have requested the use of data being compiled by Professor Rossiter in his study of the Communist Party which, as you will recall, is a Fund for the Republic project. The data which Wirin is interested in obtaining is that which would support the proposition that there is no clear and present or probable danger of the Communist Party to the United States. Yarmolinsky expressed doubts that Rossiter would permit the use of his material, whereupon Wirin is stated to have advised that he had previously spoken to Robert Maynard Hutchins and Hallock Hoffman in California about the use of such material and they had expressed the thought that the use of such material could be effective and might be released through Rossiter prematurely so that it could be used in the brief. Wirin indicated he was going to pursue this matter further with both Hutchins and [redacted]

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED

cc: Mr. William F. Rogers
Deputy Attorney General

cc: Assistant Attorney General
William F. Tompkins

MAILED 2
DEC 27 1955
COMM-FBI

- Tolson
- Boardman
- Nichols
- Belmont
- Carbo
- Chase
- Glavin
- Ladd
- Malone
- Rosen
- Tracy
- Harbo
- Quinn
- Nease
- Gandy

Mr. Boardman
Mr. Belmont

LBH:arm

(18)

Per Dir Request

212

JAN 1 1956

Re: [redacted]

DEC 30 2 35 PM '55

RECEIVED - DEPT. OF JUSTICE
REC'D BEHNDHL

DEC 55 2 45 PM '55

RECEIVED - DEPT. OF JUSTICE

file 100-391697

UNRECORDED COPY FILED IN

b6
b7C

Auto stat

~~XXX~~ IRVING FERMAN
8912 SENECA LANE
BETHESDA 14, MARYLAND

W. H. Nichols
17 December 1955

Dear Louis: (Nichols)

I am attaching a short memo, the typing of which is miserable, that I want to get off before going to N.Y. It covers a conversation I experienced at a luncheon meeting I had with Adam Yarmolinsky and Al Wirin on Thursday. I forgot to mention it to you during our telephone conversation on Friday.

This conversation revealed to me most shockingly something of the real motivation and thinking of Hutchins et al.

Sincerely,

IRVING FERMAN
Wash. Rep. of A.C.U.

~~Irving Ferman~~ *IC*
Wash. representative of American
Civil Liberties Union

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 8-3-89 BY *SP8 BTJ/af*

1 *INCL 1*
39
ENCLO. ATTACHED

EX-125

RECORDED - 39

INDEXED - 39

100-391697-321

21 JAN 10 1956

memo *AC*

12-22-55

LSN

SENT DIRECTOR

12-19-55

CRIM. REC.

Office Memo • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

TO : Mr. Tolson *per [unclear]*

DATE: Jan. 4, 1956

FROM : L. B. Nichols

SUBJECT:

Fund for the Republicb6
b7C*no harm*
George Sokolsky told me that a [redacted] who is

connected with [redacted] of the American Economic Foundation, called at his office on January 3, 1956, and left word with his secretary that Clinton Rossiter, at a dinner in Philadelphia recently, made the statement that George Sokolsky had reviewed the bibliography on Communism and given it a clean bill of health, and had Fulton Lewis, and Rossiter made the statement that both Sokolsky and Lewis apologized to Rossiter.

George sent a telegram to Rossiter asking what kind of a statement he made in Philadelphia, pointing out that he had never met Rossiter, never discussed the bibliography with him and inquired what this was all about. If Rossiter doesn't promptly reply, Sokolsky is going to use it in his column.

cc: Mr. Boardman

Mr. Belmont

LBN:arm

(4)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 2-23-89 BY 2088 SJ/ajg
2/9/638

INDEXED - 8

RECORDED - 8

EX - 118

5 JAN 30 1956

JAN 10 1956

100-391697-322

100-391697-322

Tolson
Boardman
Nichols
Belmont
Harbo
Mohr
Parsons
Rosen
Tamm
 Sizoo
Winterrowd
Tele. Room
Holloman
Gandy

good
supp
goff

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

um • UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

CONFIDENTIAL
SIDE FOR
CLASSIFICATION

~~SECRET~~

DATE: December 20, 1955

TO : Mr. Tolson ✓

FROM : L. B. Nichols *for*

SUBJECT: COUNCIL OF LEARNED SOCIETIES
MORTIMER GRAVES, EXECUTIVE SECRETARY

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Tolson _____
Boardman _____
Nichols _____
Belmont _____
Mohr _____
Parsons _____
Rosen _____
Tamm _____
 Sizoo _____
Winterrowd _____
Tele. Room _____
Holloman _____
Gandy _____

DeLoach talked with [redacted] of the American Legion, December 19, 1955. [redacted] had recently been in New York and while there was tendered a dinner by Morton Downey. Dick Berlin served as master of ceremonies at the dinner. Following the dinner [redacted] George Sokolsky, Morton Downey and a few others had quite an extensive conversation. [redacted] wanted the Director to know his side of several matters in dispute which arose during his conversation with the previously mentioned gentlemen.

According to [redacted] George Sokolsky more or less intimated that Henry Ford II never lived up to his obligations. [redacted] stated he took Sokolsky to task over this remark, because he had served in the Navy approximately two years with Ford and had become an intimate friend of Ford's since that time. He stated he agreed with Sokolsky that Ford was somewhat in the dark regarding a number of matters; however, he definitely was not a liar and should not be classified as such. [redacted] stated this conversation took place one day before Henry Ford II made his announcement concerning the dubious character of several projects undertaken by the Fund for the Republic. [redacted] stated he told Sokolsky that Ford had promised he would make this denunciation of the Fund for the Republic and that Ford's action in following through this promise more or less confirmed his opinion of Ford.

Sokolsky next proceeded to take [redacted] apart because [redacted] in November, 1955, at a speech before the Chamber of Commerce in Indianapolis, Indiana; deplored the employment of Earl Browder by the Fund for the Republic. Sokolsky's idea was that Browder was on the verge of revealing information concerning his past activities and that remarks of the nature made by [redacted] would only cause Browder to withdraw any revelations. Sokolsky told [redacted] that he had been working on Browder for the past two years. [redacted] stated he told Sokolsky that he had no grief whatsoever for Browder, that if Browder were a patriotic individual he should have opened up long ago concerning his past connection with the Communist Party. [redacted] suggested that one of the Congressional Committees offer immunity to Browder. Sokolsky told him this was under consideration.

cc - Mr. Belmont

~~SECRET~~

Classified by *Mortimer Downey*

Declassify on: OADR 8-3-89

CONFIDENTIAL

ORIGINAL COPY FILED IN 94-1-29720-1

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson

~~SECRET~~

December 20, 1955

Sokolsky next told [] that certain foundations would continue to be a threat to the internal security as long as the Council of Learned Societies existed in Washington, D. C. He explained this remark by telling [] that this organization consisted of research men, well indoctrinated in Communist philosophy, who were employed from time to time by the various foundations for the purpose of conducting research and preparing reports in matters affecting civil liberties and internal security. [] professed his ignorance to Sokolsky concerning this organization and told him that if his statements were true, the American Legion would be glad to spearhead an attack against the Council of Learned Societies. Sokolsky promised [] he would furnish him the name of the Executive Secretary of this organization.

b6
b7C

[] told DeLoach that if Sokolsky's remarks were true, the Legion would be glad to take on the Council of Learned Societies. He stated, however, he would like a little guidance and advice before undertaking this fight. He added that he was so impressed by the advice given him by the Director in October, 1955, that he didn't want to take any step in a matter of this nature unless the Director thought it might be a good idea. He was advised that we would do a little checking and would get in touch with him regarding this matter.

Files reflect that we have conducted no investigation of the organization in question. We did conduct a security-type investigation concerning Mortimer Graves, the Executive Secretary, between July, 1949, and August, 1952. One source indicated that Graves, since 1927, was the one generally responsible for placing Communists in the Government. Our investigation failed to support this conclusion. Considerable information was developed, however, regarding Graves' activities in Communist front groups. One informant describes Graves as a concealed Communist. This informant reported that the political bureau of the Communist Party had urged various functionaries to use Graves' name in widening support for Soviet Russia among educators and professional people in the Middle West. [] Graves was reported to have been in contact frequently with Soviet Embassy personnel during the middle 1940's. He has been affiliated with the following organizations: American Russian Institute (Board of Directors), National Council of American Soviet Friendship (Educational Committee, 1945), Citizens Committee to Free Earl Browder, Washington Book Shop Association, Washington Committee to Win the Peace, Washington Committee for Aid to China (Chairman of Executive Committee, 1941) and the Institute of Pacific Relations (Board of Trustees, 1943-1948, Vice-Chairman, 1944-1945). Files further reveal that Graves has been close to Owen Lattimore. Don Surine of Senator McCarthy's office told us in May, 1955, that Dean Barnaby Keenan of the Graduate School of Brown University []

[u]
per FBI

b1 per OGA
b3

~~SECRET~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

CONFIDENTIAL

~~SECRET~~

Memorandum for Mr. Tolson

December 20, 1955

DeLoach, of course, assured [] that there was no cause to be concerned regarding his slight arguments with George Sokolsky. He was advised that we know Sokolsky well and that he had been a close supporter of the FBI for many years. It was indicated that Mr. Sokolsky undoubtedly meant no malice whatsoever in his remarks criticizing [] for bringing up the name of Earl Browder in his recent speech.

With respect to advising [] concerning a possible Legion attack against the Council of Learned Societies and Mortimer Graves, I personally am aware of the fact that the Hearst newspapers have in the past placed a great deal of importance on Graves and his organization. Although we have considerable information concerning Graves, it appears from our past investigation that his reputation and importance, as credited by Sokolsky, is somewhat exaggerated. I think we should advise [] of this in confidence and indicate to him that instead of causing an all-out attack at this time, he might merely desire to write this organization up in the Legion's publication, "The Firing Line," and keep an eye on it. In this way the Legion will go on record as being opposed to the Council of Learned Societies and can spotlight the activities of this organization. [] will be briefed generally regarding public source information concerning Graves.

ACTION:

b6
b7C

If you approve, this will be handled in the above manner.

12 15
✓
V. J. [unclear]
Handled with Commander Wagner
1/16/56, Washington, D.C., the 1st time in [unclear].
D.

~~SECRET~~

CONFIDENTIAL